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Management of Social Transformations

MOST

Discussion Paper 63

Language diversity in multicultural Europe

**Comparative perspectives on
immigrant minority languages
at home and at school**

by

Guus Extra and Kutlay Yagmur



United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

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Abstract

The focus of this report is on language diversity in multicultural Europe as a consequence of international migration and minorization. The status of immigrant minority languages at home and at school is addressed from five different perspectives.

The first section offers *phenomenological* perspectives on how ‘they’ hit the headlines. This initial section deals with the semantics of our field of concern and with some central notions in this field, in particular the concepts of ‘regional’ *versus* ‘immigrant’ minority languages (hereafter RM vs. IM languages), and the ‘othering’ of inhabitants of European nation-states in terms of ‘foreigners’ and ‘integration’.

The second section goes into the utilization, value, and effects of different *demographic* criteria for the definition and identification of (school) population groups in a multicultural society. Given the decreasing significance of nationality and birth country criteria in the European context, it is argued that the combined criteria of ethnicity and home language use are potentially promising long-term alternatives for obtaining basic information on the increasingly multicultural composition of European nation-states. As a result, the demographic criteria for speakers of RM and IM languages converge.

The third section offers *sociolinguistic* perspectives on the distribution and vitality of IM languages across Europe. In this context the rationale, method, and first outcomes of the *Multilingual Cities Project*, carried out in six major multicultural cities in different European Union (henceforward EU) member states, are presented. The project is carried out under the auspices of the European Cultural Foundation, established in Amsterdam, and it is coordinated by a research team at Tilburg University, the Netherlands.

In the fourth section we focus on the status of RM and IM languages in terms of declared *language rights*. Here we deal with a selection of both global and European declarations, in particular at the levels of the UN, UNESCO, EU, and Council of Europe. It is shown that RM and IM languages are treated very differently in these documents, and it is argued that there is a need for formulating an equalizing and overarching context.

The fifth section offers comparative perspectives on *education* policies and practices in Europe and elsewhere in the domain of IM languages. Here we present case studies on positive action programmes in two widely different contexts, i.e. the federal states of North Rhine-Westphalia (Germany) and Victoria (Australia). In addition, we present major outcomes of a comparative study on the *status quo* of education in this domain in six EU countries.

The report concludes with an outlook on how multilingualism can be encouraged for all children in an increasingly multicultural Europe.

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Babylon Research Centre

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We remain, however, solely responsible for the contents of this final version.

Guus Extra and Kutlay Yagmur

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Summary

Multidimensional political, social, economic, cultural, and linguistic transformations are taking place in the European Union (henceforth EU). In this context, the traditional concept of nation-states is being questioned from many perspectives. European policy makers, on the one hand, try to achieve economic and political integration; on the other hand, they try to protect and promote cultural and linguistic pluralism. Diversity and pluralism are seen to be powerful assets for sustaining political and economic integration. In promoting linguistic pluralism, the EU has signed many documents where the language rights of minorities are protected. In theory, minorities have numerous rights in relation to language. The focus of these documents, however, is on regional minority groups; immigrant minority groups are commonly excluded with respect to such rights. The European discourse on the division of regional versus immigrant minority groups and languages (henceforth RM vs. IM groups/languages) is one of the main issues to be discussed in this report.

During the last decades, many newcomers arrived in EU countries in the context of workforce migration, family reunion, and lately mainly refugees from different continents. Besides many social, cultural, and political issues, these new groups put new demands on educational institutions. In this report, the status of IM languages at home and at school is addressed from an interdisciplinary point of view and takes into account five different perspectives: phenomenological, demographic, sociolinguistic, language rights, and educational perspectives.

The first section offers phenomenological perspectives on how ‘they’ hit the headlines. This section deals with the semantics of our field of concern and with some central notions in this field. First of all, the linkage between the concepts of ‘language’ and ‘identity’, in particular ‘ethnic’ vs. ‘national’ identity, is addressed. Changes at the national, European, and global levels have led to the conceptualisation of a transnational and multiple identity that is no longer constrained by a particular nation-state. This new identity asks for new cross-border competencies of EU citizens in dealing with cultural and linguistic diversity. The concepts of ethnicity and ethnic identity have a complex load. They may refer to objective and/or subjective properties of majority and minority groups in terms of a shared language, culture, religion, history, ancestry or race. In all cases, however, reference is made to factual (objective) and/or perceived (subjective) group characteristics. The relationship between language and identity and issues of integration versus pluralism are taken up in the first section.

Moreover, non-national languages of Europe are discussed in terms of ‘regional’ vs. ‘immigrant’ minority languages. Europe has a rich diversity of languages. This fact is usually illustrated by reference to the eleven official languages of the EU. However, there are many more languages spoken by the inhabitants of Europe. Examples of such languages are Welsh and Basque, or Arabic and Turkish. These languages are usually referred to as ‘minority languages’, even when in Europe as a whole there is not one majority language because all languages are spoken by a numerical minority. The languages referred to are representatives of RM and IM languages, respectively. In dealing with RM languages, European countries have adopted numerous measures for the maintenance of such languages. RM languages like Catalan, Basque or Frisian enjoy legal and educational support in mainstream schools but similar support is not available for IM languages. Although IM languages are often conceived and transmitted as core values of culture by IM groups, they are much less protected than RM languages by affirmative action and legal measures in e.g. education. In fact, the learning and certainly the teaching of IM languages are often seen by speakers of dominant languages and by policy makers as obstacles to integration. At the European level, guidelines and directives regarding IM languages are rather scant and outdated.

In the European public discourse IM groups are often referred to as *foreigners* (*étrangers*, *Ausländer*) and as being in need of *integration*. It is common practice to refer to IM groups in terms of *non-national* residents and to their languages in terms of *non-territorial*, *non-regional*, *non-indigenous* or *non-European* languages. The call for integration is in sharp contrast with the language of exclusion. This conceptual exclusion rather than inclusion in the European public discourse derives from a restrictive interpretation of the notions of citizenship and nationality. The section on phenomenology documents the semantics and underlying mindset of such discourse.

The second section on demographic perspectives goes into the utilization, value, and effects of different demographic criteria for the definition and identification of (school) population groups in a multicultural society. Many industrialized EU countries have a growing number of IM populations which differ widely, both from a cultural and from a linguistic point of view, from the mainstream indigenous population. In spite of more stringent immigration policies in most EU countries, the prognosis is that IM populations will continue to grow as a consequence of the increasing number of political refugees, the opening of the internal European borders, and political and economic developments in Central and Eastern Europe and in other regions of the world. It has been estimated that in the year 2000 more than one third of the population under the age of 35 in urbanized Western Europe had an IM background. For various reasons, however, reliable demographic information on IM groups in EU countries is difficult to obtain. For some groups or countries, no updated information is available or no such data have ever been collected at all. Moreover, official statistics only reflect IM groups with legal resident status. Another source of disparity is the different data collection systems being used, ranging from nation-wide census data to more or less representative surveys. Most importantly, however, the most widely used criteria for IM status ! nationality and/or country of birth ! have become less valid over time because of an increasing trend toward naturalization and births within the countries of residence. In addition, most residents from former colonies already have the nationality of their country of immigration.

A survey of methods used in the identification of multicultural populations is presented. The strengths and shortcomings of various methods, mainly censuses, in the international context are documented. Given the decreasing significance of nationality and birth country criteria in the European context, it is argued that the combined criteria of self-categorization and home language use are potentially promising long-term alternatives for obtaining basic information on the increasingly multicultural composition of European nation-states. As a result, convergence emerges in the demographic criteria for speakers of RM and IM languages. The added value of home language statistics is that they offer valuable insights into the distribution and vitality of home languages across different population groups and thus raise the awareness of multilingualism. Empirically collected data on home language use also play a crucial role in the context of education. Such data will not only raise the awareness of multilingualism in multicultural schools; they are in fact indispensable tools for educational policies on the teaching of both the national majority language as a first or second language and the teaching of minority languages.

The third section offers sociolinguistic perspectives on the distribution and vitality of IM languages across Europe. In this context, the rationale, method, and first outcomes of the *Multilingual Cities Project* (MCP), carried out in six major multicultural cities in different EU member states are presented. Theoretical and practical issues in collecting home language data, designing a home language questionnaire to be used with large numbers of informants, and relevant questions in such surveys are discussed. In order to provide readers with a concrete picture of the issues involved in such large-scale research, the design and first findings of the cross-national MCP are presented. We focus on kernel outcomes in one of the six participating cities, i.e. the multicultural municipality of The Hague in the Netherlands.

The research methodology presented in the third section shows that for effective policy formulation, accurate information about various language groups is essential. The questions included in the survey provide researchers with multiple dimensions of language use. Derived from the outcomes of this survey, researchers can identify, describe, and compare major IM communities in any given context. On the basis of the data obtained, for each language community, a language profile can be constructed. The language profile consists of four dimensions: language proficiency, language choice, language dominance, and language preference. The data enable researchers also to construct a pseudo-longitudinal profile and a language vitality index for each language community.

In the fourth section, we deal with the status of RM and IM languages in terms of declared language rights. Here we focus on an important selection of both global and European declarations, in particular at the levels of the UN, UNESCO, EU, and Council of Europe. It is shown that RM and IM languages are treated very differently in these documents, and it is argued that there is a need of formulating an equalizing and overarching context in terms of language rights as human rights.

European nation-states and agencies have decreed and published numerous documents on the protection of human rights in general, and language rights in particular. The overarching ideal of the EU is to operate on the basis of common rights, responsibilities and universal values such as democracy, freedom of speech, reign of law, and respect for human rights. One of the basic propositions in this section is to suggest that instead of creating various categories of 'language rights' and 'minority rights' for RM versus IM groups, all groups should be treated with the same yardstick.

While the language rights of RM groups are safeguarded by international law and European treaties, IM language rights have mostly been ignored. All the legislations and charters concerning minority languages are exclusion-oriented. European countries are calling out for unification and pluralism through EU policies but their discourse concerning IM groups is discriminatory in nature. The Council of Europe's *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages* guarantees only the rights of RM groups. Allocating special rights to one group of minorities and denying the same rights to other groups is hard to explain with the principle of equal human rights for everyone.

In connecting many of the issues raised in the preceding sections, the fifth section offers comparative perspectives on educational policies and practices in Europe and abroad in the domain of IM languages. Here we present case studies on positive action programs in two widely different contexts, i.e. the federal states of North Rhine-Westphalia (Germany) and Victoria (Australia). Moreover, we present major outcomes of a comparative study on the *status quo* of education in this domain in six EU countries, based on a discussion of eight parameters in terms of target groups, arguments, objectives, evaluation, minimal enrolment, curricular status, funding, and teaching materials.

Presenting information on 'good educational practice' is important in many respects because not all EU countries exclude IM language teaching from their school curriculum. The example of North Rhine-Westphalia as presented in the fifth section has been remarkable in many respects. First of all, no differentiation is made between languages. On the basis of a sufficient demand for any language, the state schools offer classes. Secondly, children from any background can enrol in any of the classes opened. Thirdly, teacher training is taken rather seriously and mother tongue teachers must fulfil particular requirements. In the same vein, mother tongue teaching is not left to teachers sent by the country of origin. Fourthly, professional institutions develop teaching materials for mother tongue classes. Fifthly, these classes are part of the curriculum and pupils are awarded grades, which has an effect on their school achievement and future schooling prospects.

And finally, these classes are part of the regular school inspection system. In this way, both the pupils and the teachers take these subjects rather seriously. Involvement of parents in the schooling of their children is encouraged. All of these measures are meant to encourage a positive atmosphere, both in schools and in society at large. Also knowing that their language and culture is respected by the school system and by the mainstream society, pupils would develop a higher self-esteem and respect for the self and the other. In this way, intercultural communication and tolerance would be promoted as well. Finally, the North Rhine-Westphalia example shows that instead of taking a 'deficit' perspective, policy makers opted for multicultural and multilingual education.

With the same criteria in mind, a more remote example from Victoria State in Australia is presented. The Australian context is highly relevant for documenting the shift from assimilationist policies to linguistic pluralism during the last decades. Multicultural policies in Victoria give Australians the freedom to maintain their languages and cultures within a socially cohesive framework of shared values, including respect for democratic processes and institutions. No individuals or groups of people are declared for being in need of integration. The ultimate goal of achieving multilingualism is realised in Victoria in the sense that learning more than one language is not only a task for IM children but for all students in the State. Apart from English as a first or second language, all children learn a Language Other Than English (LOTE) at school.

The report is concluded with an outlook on promoting multilingualism for all children in an increasingly multicultural Europe. The final section ends with a call that any European charter on multilingualism must be inclusive in nature and should aim at the promotion and protection of all minority languages, without creating further divisions. It is a remarkable phenomenon that the teaching of RM languages is generally advocated for reasons of cultural diversity as a matter of course, whereas this is rarely a major argument in favour of teaching IM languages. In order to safeguard the language rights of children from all backgrounds, new guidelines need to be made and such measures should have more binding force in the EU member states. European countries are increasingly becoming multicultural in nature and in order to safeguard social cohesion such measures are inevitable.

1 – Phenomenological perspectives

This initial section deals with the semantics of our field of concern and with some central notions in this field. First of all, we discuss the linkage between the concepts of language and identity. It should be mentioned *a priori* that the literature on this theme is more characterized by value-loaded normative rhetorics than by non-passionate considerations. Edwards (1985) made an emphatic plea for the latter rather than the former approach. Questions on language and identity are extremely complex. One of the reasons for this is that they tend to be treated in different disciplines. Whereas the concept of identity is often discussed in social sciences without reference to language, the reverse happens in linguistics.

The concept of identity is closely related to the concepts of ethnicity and nationalism, or ethnic identity and national identity. The concept of ethnic identity often refers to the identity of ethnic minority groups in a particular nation-state and emphasizes the ‘othering’ in comparison with the majority of inhabitants of that nation-state. It should be mentioned, however, that all inhabitants of a nation-state belong to an ethnic group, although majority groups rarely identify themselves as such. In fact, the Greek word *ethnos* refers to *nation*. For an extensive discussion of the concepts nation, nationality, and nationalism we refer to Fishman (1989:105-175).

The topic is further complicated by the co-existence of the concepts of national and ethnic minorities. These concepts refer most commonly to the co-existence of regional (indigenous) and immigrant (non-indigenous) minorities who often make use of indigenous and non-indigenous minority languages, respectively. The vitality of both types of minority languages can diminish through intergenerational processes of language shift (cf. the status of Frisian in the Netherlands or the status of Dutch in Australia, respectively). However, even when such languages lose their communicative value, they often maintain an important symbolic value for minority groups. Whereas the majority language of a nation-state functions as a marker of external group boundaries, minority languages function as markers of internal group boundaries. Although the concepts of both nationality and ethnicity are based on group allegiances, the difference between them is primarily one of scale and size.

The concepts of ethnicity and ethnic identity have a complex load. They may refer to objective and/or subjective properties of majority and minority groups in terms of a shared language, culture, religion, history, ancestry or race. In all cases, reference is made to factual (objective) and/or perceived (subjective) group characteristics. The concepts of language and ethnicity are so closely related that language functions as a major component in most definitions of ethnicity. Fishman (1977) even considers language to be the most characteristic marker of ethnic identity. For some minority groups, however, language is to a higher degree a core value of their identity than it is for other groups (cf. Smolicz 1980, 1992). After an extensive analysis of available definitions of ethnic identity, Edwards (1985:10) comes up with the following operationalisation:

“Ethnic identity is allegiance to a group ! large or small, socially dominant or subordinate ! with which one has ancestral links. There is no necessity for a continuation, over generations, of the same socialisation or cultural patterns, but some sense of a group boundary must persist. This can be sustained by shared objective characteristics (language, religion, etc.), or by more subjective contributions to a sense of ‘groupness’, or by some combination of both. Symbolic or subjective attachments must relate, at however distant a remove, to an observably real past.”

It is impossible to speak about ethnic identity without reference to other ethnic identities or to national identity. The equalization of language and national identity, however, is based on a denial of the co-existence of majority and minority languages within the borders of any nation-state and has its roots in the German Romanticism at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th

century (cf. Fishman 1989:105-175, 270-287 and Edwards 1985:23-27 for historical overviews). The equalization of German and Germany was a reaction to the rationalism of the Enlightenment and was also based on anti-French sentiments. The concept of nationalism emerges at the end of the 18th century, the concept of nationality only a century later. Romantic philosophers like Johan Gottfried Herder and Wilhelm von Humboldt laid the foundation for the emergence of a linguistic nationalism in Germany on the basis of which the German language and nation were conceived as superior to the French ones. The French, however, were no less reluctant to express their conviction that the reverse is true. Although every nation-state is characterized by heterogeneity, including linguistic heterogeneity, nationalistic movements have always invoked this classical European discourse in their equalization of language and nation.

The United States has not remained immune to this nationalism either. The English-only movement *US English* was founded in 1983 out of fear for the growing number of Hispanics on American soil (Fishman 1988). This organization has offered resistance against bilingual Spanish-English education from the beginning because such an approach would lead to “identity confusion”. Similarly, attempts have been made to give the assignment of English as the official language of the US a constitutional basis. This is done on the presupposition that the recognition of other languages (in particular Spanish) would undermine the foundations of the nation-state. This nationalism has its roots in a white, protestant, English speaking elite (Edwards 1994:177-178).

The relationship between language and identity is not static but a dynamic phenomenon. During the last decades of the 20th century this relationship has undergone strong transnational changes. Within the European context, these changes have occurred in three different arenas (see also Oakes 2001):

- in the national arenas of the EU member states: the traditional identity of these nation-states is challenged by major demographic changes (in particular in urban areas) as a consequence of migration and minorization;
- in the European arena: the concept of a European identity emerges as a consequence of increasing cooperation and integration at the European level;
- in the global arena: our world becomes smaller and more interactive as a consequence of the increasing availability of information and communication technology.

Major changes in each of these three arenas have led to the development of the concept of a transnational citizenship and a transnational multiple identities. Inhabitants of Europe no longer identify exclusively with singular nation-states, but give increasing evidence of multiple affiliations. At the EU level, the notion of a European identity was formally expressed for the first time in the *Declaration on European Identity* of December 1973 in Copenhagen. Numerous institutions and documents have propagated and promoted this idea ever since. The most concrete and tangible expression of this idea to date has been the introduction of a European currency in 2002. In discussing the concept of a European identity, Oakes (2001:127-131) emphasizes that the recognition of the concept of multiple transnational identities is a prerequisite rather than an obstacle for the acceptance of a European identity. The recognition of multiple transnational identities does not only occur to the traditional inhabitants of European nation-states but also to newcomers in Europe. To illustrate this with an example: recent research carried out amongst the Turkish and Moroccan communities in Brussels leads Phales & Swyngedouw (2002) to the following conclusions:

“While Turks and Moroccans share with Belgians a social-contract type of citizenship in Belgium, they also adhere to a communal type of long-distance citizenship in Turkey and Morocco, which centres on a close linkage of national and religious attachments. We conclude that multiplicity is a key feature of minority perspectives on citizenship, which combine active

participation in the national context of residence with enduring ethno-religious identification in the national context of origin.”

Multiple transnational identities and affiliations will ask for new competences of European citizens in the 21st century. These include the ability to deal with increasing cultural diversity and heterogeneity (see also Van Londen & De Ruijter 1999). Multilingualism can be considered as a core competence for such ability. In this context, processes of both convergence and divergence occur. In the European and global arena, English has increasingly assumed the role of *lingua franca* for international communication (see also Oakes 2001: 131-136, 149-154). The rise of English has occurred at the cost of all other national languages of Europe, including French. At the same time, a growing number of newcomers in the national arenas of the EU member states are in need of competences in the languages of their source and target countries.

Europe has a rich diversity of languages. This fact is usually illustrated by reference to the eleven national languages of the EU. However, there are many more languages spoken by the inhabitants of Europe. Examples of such languages are Welsh and Basque, or Arabic and Turkish. These languages are usually referred to as ‘minority languages’, even when in Europe as a whole there is not one majority language because all languages are spoken by a numerical minority. The languages referred to are representatives of regional minority and immigrant minority languages, respectively (henceforth RM and IM languages). These ‘other’ languages of Europe bring to mind, of course, the well-known *Linguistic Minorities Project* from the mid-eighties: *The Other Languages of England*. In that study, the following explanation was given of its title: ‘The other languages of England are all those languages apart from English that are ignored in public, official activities in England’ (LMP 1985:xiv). In our case the ‘other’ languages of Europe are all those languages apart from the eleven official languages that are ignored in public and official activities of the EU (see also Extra & Gorter 2001).

RM and IM languages have much in common, much more than is usually thought. On their sociolinguistic, educational and political agenda’s we find issues such as their actual spread, their domestic and public vitality, the processes and determinants of language maintenance versus language shift towards majority languages, the relationship between language, ethnicity and identity, and the status of minority languages in schools, in particular in the compulsory stages of primary and secondary education. The origin of most RM languages as *minority* languages lies in the 19th century, when, during the processes of state-formation in Europe, they found themselves excluded from the state level, in particular from general education. RM languages did not become official languages of the nation-states that were then established. Centralizing tendencies and an ideology of ‘one language ! one state’ have threatened the continued existence of RM languages. The greatest threat to RM languages, however, is lack of intergenerational transmission. When parents give up speaking the ancestral language to their children, it becomes almost impossible to reverse the ensuing language shift. In addition to parents, education can be a major factor in the maintenance and promotion of a minority language. For most RM languages some kind of educational provisions have been established in an attempt at reversing ongoing language shift. Only in the last few decades some of these RM languages have become relatively well protected in legal terms, as well as by affirmative educational policies and programmes, both at the level of various nation-states and at the level of the EU.

Over the centuries there have always been speakers of IM languages in Europe, but these languages have only recently emerged as community languages spoken on a wide scale in North-Western Europe, due to intensified processes of immigration and minorization. Turkish and Arabic are good examples of so-called ‘non-European’ languages that are spoken and learned by millions of inhabitants of the EU member states. Although IM languages are often conceived and transmitted as core values by IM language groups, they are much less protected than RM languages by affirmative action and legal measures in e.g. education. In fact, the learning and

certainly the teaching of IM languages are often seen by speakers of dominant languages and by policy makers as obstacles to integration. At the European level, guidelines and directives regarding IM languages are rather scant and outdated.

Despite the possibilities and challenges of comparing the status of RM and IM languages, amazingly few connections have been made in the sociolinguistic, educational and political domain. In the *Linguistic Minorities Project*, which was restricted to England and did not cover all of Britain, an observation was made which still applies to the situation today: 'The Project has been struck by how little contact there still is between researchers and practitioners working in bilingual areas and school systems, even between England and Wales. Many of the newer minorities in England could benefit from the Welsh experience and expertise' (LMP 1985:12). In our opinion, little has improved over the past fifteen years, and contacts between researchers or policy makers working with different types of minority groups are still scarce. Publications, which focus on both types of minority languages, are rare; exceptions are the separate volumes on RM and IM languages by Alladina & Edwards (1991), and the integrated volume by Extra & Gorter (2001).

As yet, we are lacking a common referential framework for the languages under discussion. As all of these RM and IM languages are spoken by different language communities and not at statewide levels, it may seem logical to refer to them as community languages, thus contrasting them with the official languages of nation-states. However, the designation 'community languages' would at least lead to confusion at the surface level because this concept is already in use to refer to the official languages of the EU. In that sense the designation 'community languages' is occupied territory. From an inventory of the different terms in use we learn that there are no standardized designations. Table 1 gives a non-exhaustive overview of the nomenclature of the field. As is clear from Table 1, the utilized terminology is variable and in flux.

Table 1 Nomenclature of the field

<p><i>Reference to IM groups</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • non-national residents • foreigners, étrangers, Ausländer • (im)migrants • new Xmen (e.g. new Dutchmen) • ethnic/cultural/ethnocultural minorities • linguistic minorities • allochthones, allophones • non-English speaking (NES) residents (in particular in the USA) • anderstaligen (Dutch: those who speak other languages) *
<p><i>Reference to RM and IM languages</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • community languages (cf. in Europe vs. Australia) • ancestral/heritage languages • national/historical/regional/indigenous minority languages vs. • non-territorial/non-regional/non-indigenous/non-European minority languages • autochthonous vs. allochthonous minority languages • lesser used/less widely used/less widely taught languages ** • stateless/diaspora languages (in particular used for Romani) • languages other than English (LOTE: common concept in Australia)
<p><i>Reference to RM and IM language teaching</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • community language teaching (CLT) • mother tongue teaching (MTT) • home language instruction (HLI) • regional minority language instruction (RMLI) vs. • immigrant minority language instruction (IMLI) • enseignement des langues et cultures d'origine (ELCO: in French/Spanish elementary schools) • enseignement des langues vivantes (ELV: in French/Spanish secondary schools) • Muttersprachlicher Unterricht (MSU: in German elementary schools) • Muttersprachlicher Ergänzungsunterricht (MEU: in German elementary/secondary schools) • Herkunftssprachlicher Unterricht (HSU: in German elementary/secondary schools)
<p>* Cf. also the Dutch concept of <i>andersdenkenden</i> (those who think differently) for reference to non-Christians.</p> <p>** The concept of lesser used languages has been adopted at the EU level; the European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages (EBLUL), established in Brussels and Dublin, speaks and acts on behalf of 'the autochthonous regional and minority languages of the EU'.</p>

Imagine a European citizen who has never been abroad and travels to San Francisco for the first time in life, walks around downtown for a week, gets an impression of the Chinese community and food, happens to be invited for dinner by a Chinese family, and asks the host at the dinner table: 'How many foreigners live in San Francisco?', in this way referring to the many Asian, Latin and other non-Anglo Americans (s)he has seen during that week. Now, two things might happen: if the guest's English is poor, the Chinese host might leave this European reference to ethnocultural diversity unnoticed and go on with the conversation; if the guest's English is good, however, the Chinese host might interrupt the dinner and charge his guest with discrimination.

In the European public discourse on IM groups, two major characteristics emerge (see also Extra & Verhoeven 1998): IM groups are often referred to as *foreigners* (*étrangers*, *Ausländer*) and as being in need of *integration*. First of all, it is common practice to refer to IM groups in terms of

non-national residents and to their languages in terms of *non-territorial*, *non-regional*, *non-indigenous* or *non-European* languages. The call for integration is in sharp contrast with the language of exclusion. This conceptual exclusion rather than inclusion in the European public discourse derives from a restrictive interpretation of the notions of citizenship and nationality. From a historical point of view, such notions are commonly shaped by a constitutional *ius sanguinis* (law of the blood) in terms of which nationality derives from parental origins, in contrast to *ius solis* (law of the ground) in terms of which nationality derives from the country of birth. When European emigrants left their continent in the past and colonized countries abroad, they legitimised their claim to citizenship by spelling out *ius solis* in the constitutions of these countries of settlement. Good examples of this strategy can be found in English-dominant immigration countries like the USA, Canada, Australia and South Africa. In establishing the constitutions of these (sub) continents, no consultation took place with native inhabitants, such as Indians, Inuit, Aborigines and Zulus respectively. At home, however, Europeans predominantly upheld *ius sanguinis* in their constitutions and/or perceptions of nationality and citizenship, in spite of the growing numbers of newcomers who strive for an equal status as citizens.

A second major characteristic of the European public discourse on IM groups is the focus on *integration*. This notion is both popular and vague, and it may actually refer to a whole spectrum of underlying concepts that vary over space and time (cf. Kruyt & Niessen 1997 for a comparative study of the notion of ‘integration’ in five EU countries since the early seventies). The extremes of the spectrum range from assimilation to multiculturalism. The concept of assimilation is based on the premise that cultural differences between IM groups and established majority groups should and will disappear over time in a society which is proclaimed to be culturally homogeneous. On the other side of the spectrum, the concept of multiculturalism is based on the premise that such differences are an asset to a pluralist society, which actually promotes cultural diversity in terms of new resources and opportunities. While the concept of assimilation focuses on unilateral tasks of *newcomers*, the concept of multiculturalism focuses on multilateral tasks for *all* inhabitants in changing societies (cf. Taylor 1993 or Cohn Bendit & Schmid 1992). In practice, established majority groups often make strong demands on IM groups for integration in terms of assimilation and are commonly very reluctant to promote or even accept the notion of cultural diversity as a determining characteristic of an increasingly multicultural environment.

It is interesting to compare the underlying assumptions of ‘integration’ in the European public discourse on IM groups at the national level with assumptions at the level of cross-national cooperation and legislation. In the latter context, European politicians are eager to stress the importance of a proper balance between the loss and maintenance of ‘national’ norms and values. A prime concern in the public debate on such norms and values is cultural and linguistic diversity, mainly in terms of the national languages of the EU. National languages are often referred to as core values of cultural identity. It is a paradoxical phenomenon that in the same public discourse IM languages and cultures are commonly conceived as sources of problems and deficits and as obstacles to integration, while national languages and cultures in an expanding EU are regarded as sources of enrichment and as prerequisites for integration.

The public discourse on integration of IM groups in terms of assimilation vs. multiculturalism can also be noticed in the domain of education. Due to a growing influx of IM pupils, schools are faced with the challenge of adapting their curricula to this trend. The pattern of modification may be inspired by a strong and unilateral emphasis on learning (in) the language of the majority of society, given its significance for success in school and on the labour market, or by the awareness that the response to emerging multicultural school populations can not be reduced to monolingual education programming (cf. Gogolin 1994). In the former case, the focus will be on learning (in) the national language as a second language only, in the latter case on offering more languages in the school curriculum. In particular in the domain of education, there is a wide conceptual gap between the discourse on RM and IM languages, as will be outlined later in this report.

2 – Demographic perspectives

As a consequence of socio-economically or politically determined processes of migration and minorization, the traditional patterns of language variation across Western Europe have changed considerably over the past several decades (cf. Extra & Verhoeven 1998, Extra & Gorter 2001). The first pattern of migration started in the sixties and early seventies, and it was mainly economically motivated. In the case of Mediterranean groups, migration initially involved contract workers who expected ! and were expected ! to stay for a limited period of time. As the period of their stay gradually became longer, this pattern of economic migration was followed by a second pattern of social migration as their families joined them. Subsequently, a second generation was born in the immigrant countries, while their parents often remained uncertain or ambivalent about whether to stay or to return to the country of origin. These demographic shifts over time have also been accompanied by shifts of designation for the groups under consideration in terms of ‘migrant workers’, ‘immigrant families’, and ‘ethnic minorities’, respectively (see also Table 1).

As a result, many industrialized Western European countries have a growing number of IM populations which differ widely, both from a cultural and from a linguistic point of view, from the mainstream indigenous population. In spite of more stringent immigration policies in most EU countries, the prognosis is that IM populations will continue to grow as a consequence of the increasing number of political refugees, the opening of the internal European borders, and political and economic developments in Central and Eastern Europe and in other regions of the world. It has been estimated that in the year 2000 more than one third of the population under the age of 35 in urbanized Western Europe had an IM background.

Within the various EU countries, four major IM groups can be distinguished: people from Mediterranean EU countries, from Mediterranean non-EU countries, from former colonial countries, and political refugees (cf. Extra & Verhoeven 1993a, 1993b). Comparative information on population figures in EU member states can be obtained from the Statistical Office of the EU in Luxembourg (EuroStat). An overall decrease of the indigenous population has been observed in all EU countries over the last decade; at the same time, there has been an increase in the IM figures. Although free movement of migrants between EU member states is legally permitted, most IM groups in EU countries originate from non-EU countries. According to EuroStat (1996), in January 1993, the EU had a population of 368 million, 4.8% of whom (almost 18 million people) were not citizens of the country in which they lived. The increase in the non-national population since 1985 is mainly due to an influx of non-EU nationals, whose numbers rose from 9 to 12 million between 1985 and 1992. The largest numbers of IM groups have been observed in France, Germany and Great Britain.

For various reasons, however, reliable demographic information on IM groups in EU countries is difficult to obtain. For some groups or countries, no updated information is available or no such data have ever been collected at all. Moreover, official statistics only reflect IM groups with legal resident status. Another source of disparity is the different data collection systems being used, ranging from nation-wide census data to more or less representative surveys. Most importantly, however, the most widely used criteria for IM status, nationality and/or country of birth, have become less valid over time because of an increasing trend toward naturalization and births within the countries of residence. In addition, most residents from former colonies already have the nationality of their country of immigration.

There are large differences among EU countries as regards the size and composition of IM groups. Owing to labour market mechanisms, such groups are found mainly in the northern industrialized EU countries, whereas their presence in Mediterranean countries like Greece, Italy,

Portugal, and Spain is increasing. Mediterranean groups immigrate mainly to France or Germany. Portuguese, Spanish and Maghreb residents concentrate in France, whereas Italian, Greek, former Yugoslavian and Turkish residents concentrate in Germany. The largest IM groups in EU countries are Turkish and Maghreb residents; the latter originate from Morocco, Algeria or Tunisia. Table 2 gives official numbers of their size in twelve EU countries in January 1994.

Table 2 Official numbers of inhabitants of Maghreb and Turkish origin in twelve EU countries, January 1994, based on the nationality criterion (EuroStat 1997)

EU countries	Maghreb countries			Total Maghreb	Turkey
	Morocco	Algeria	Tunisia		
Belgium	145,363	10,177	6,048	161,588	88,302
Denmark	3,180	368	40	3,952	34,658
Germany	82,803	23,082	28,060	133,945	1,918,395
Greece	333	180	31	827	3,066
Spain	61,303	3,259	37	64,940	301
France	572,652	614,207	206,336	1,393,165	197,712
Italy	77,180	3,177	35,318	115,675	3,656
The Netherlands	164,567	905	2,415	167,887	202,618
Portugal	221	53		302	65
Finland	560	208	14	910	995
Sweden	1,533	599	1,152	3,284	23,649
Great Britain	3,000	2,000	2,000	7,000	41,000
Total	1,112,695	658,215	282,595	2,053,475	2,514,417

According to EuroStat (1997) and based on the conservative nationality criterion, in 1993 the largest Turkish and Maghreb communities could be found in Germany (almost 2 million) and France (almost 1.4 million), respectively. Within the EU, the Netherlands is in second place as the country of immigration for Turkish and Moroccan residents.

In most EU countries, only population data on nationality and/or birth country (of person and parents) are available. To illustrate this, Tables 3 and 4 give recent statistics of population groups in the Netherlands and Sweden, respectively, based on the birth country criterion (of person and/or mother and/or father) *versus* the nationality criterion, as derived from their Central Bureaus of Statistics.

Table 3 Population of the Netherlands based on the combined birth country criterion (BC-PMF) *versus* the nationality criterion on January 1, 1999 (source: Dutch Central Bureau of Statistics 2000)

Groups	BC-PMF	Nationality	Absolute difference
Dutch	13,061,000	15,097,000	2,036,000
Turks	300,000	102,000	198,000
Moroccans	252,000	128,600	123,400
Surinamese	297,000	10,500	286,500
Antilleans	99,000	–	99,000
Italians	33,000	17,600	15,400
(Former) Yugoslavs	63,000	22,300	40,700
Spaniards	30,000	16,800	13,200
Somalis	27,000	8,900	18,100
Chinese	28,000	7,500	20,500
Indonesians	407,000	8,400	398,600
Other groups	1,163,000	339,800	823,200
Total	15,760,000	15,760,000	–

Table 4 The twelve largest immigrant groups to Sweden based on the birth country criterion *versus* the nationality criterion on January 1, 2002 (source: Swedish Central Bureau of Statistics 2002)

Groups	Birth country	Nationality	Absolute difference
Finns	193,465	97,521	95,944
(former) Yugoslavs	73,274	20,741	52,533
Iraqis	55,696	36,221	19,475
Bosnians	52,198	19,728	32,470
Iranians	51,884	13,449	38,435
Norwegians	43,414	33,265	10,149
Poles	40,506	15,511	24,995
Danes	38,870	26,627	12,243
Germans	38,857	17,315	21,542
Turks	32,453	13,907	18,546
Chileans	27,153	9,896	17,257
Lebanese	20,228	2,961	17,327
Total	667,998	307,142	360,856

Tables 3 and 4 show strong criterion effects of birth country *versus* nationality (cf. the status of Turks and Finns in the Netherlands and Sweden, respectively). All IM groups are in fact strongly underrepresented in nationality-based statistics. However, the combined birth country criterion of person/mother/father does not solve the identification problem either. The use of this criterion leads to non-identification in at least the following cases:

- an increasing group of third and further generations (cf. the Moluccan and Chinese communities in the Netherlands);
- different ethnocultural groups from the same country of origin (cf. Turks *versus* Kurds from Turkey or Berbers *versus* Arabs from Morocco);
- the same ethnocultural group from different countries of origin (cf. Chinese from China *versus* Vietnam);
- ethnocultural groups without territorial status (cf. Roma).

From the data presented in Tables 3 and 4, it becomes clear that collecting reliable information about the actual number and spread of IM population groups in EU countries is no easy enterprise. Krüger-Potratz et al. (1998) discuss the problem of criteria from a historical perspective in the context of the German *Weimarer Republik*. As early as 1982, the *Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs* recognized the above-mentioned identification problems for inhabitants of Australia and proposed including questions on birth country (of person and parents), ethnic origin (based on self-categorization in terms of to which ethnic group a person considers him/herself to belong), and home language use in their censuses. As yet, little experience has been gained in EU countries with periodical censuses, or, if such censuses have been held, with questions on ethnicity or (home) language use. Given the decreasing significance of nationality and birth country criteria, collecting reliable information about the composition of IM groups in EU countries is one of the most challenging tasks facing demographers. In Table 5, the four criteria mentioned are discussed in terms of their major dis/advantages (see also Extra & Gorter 2001:9).

Table 5 Criteria for the definition and identification of population groups in a multicultural society (P/F/M = person/father/mother)

Criterion	Advantages	Disadvantages
Nationality (NAT) (P/F/M)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • objective • relatively easy to establish 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • (intergenerational) erosion through naturalization or double NAT • NAT not always indicative of ethnicity/identity • some (e.g., ex-colonial) groups have NAT of immigration country
Birth country (BC) (P/F/M)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • objective • relatively easy to establish 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • intergenerational erosion through births in immigration country • BC not always indicative of ethnicity/identity • invariable/deterministic: does not take account of dynamics in society (in contrast of all other criteria)
Self-categorization (SC)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • touches the heart of the matter • emancipatory: SC takes account of person's own conception of ethnicity/identity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • subjective by definition: also determined by the language/ethnicity of interviewer and by the spirit of times • multiple SC possible • historically charged, especially by World War II experiences
Home language (HL)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • HL is most significant criterion of ethnicity in communication processes • HL data are prerequisite for government policy in areas such as public information or education 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • complex criterion: who speaks what language to whom and when? • language is not always core value of ethnicity/identity • useless in one-person households

As Table 5 makes clear, there is no single royal road to a solution of the identification problem. Different criteria may complement and strengthen each other. Verweij (1997) made a short *tour d'horizon* in four EU countries (i.e. Belgium, Germany, France, Great Britain) and in the USA in order to study criteria utilized in the national population statistics of these countries. In Belgium, Germany and France, such statistics have traditionally been based on the nationality criterion; only in Belgium has additional experience been gained with the combined birth-country criterion of persons, parents, and even grandparents. For various reasons, identification on the basis of the grandparents' birth-country is very problematic: four additional sources of evidence are needed (with multiple types of outcomes) and the chances of non-response are rather high. Verweij (1997) also discussed the experiences with the utilization of ethnic self-categorization in Great

Britain and the USA, leaving the home language criterion out of consideration. Given the increasing identification problems with the combined birth-country criterion, Verweij, on the basis of Anglo-Saxon experiences, suggested including the self-categorization criterion in future population statistics as the second-best middle- and long-term alternative in those cases where the combined birth-country criterion would not suffice. Moreover, he proposed carrying out small-scale experimental studies on the validity and social acceptance of the self-categorization criterion, given its subjective and historically charged character (see also Table 5), before this criterion would be introduced on a nation-wide scale.

Complementary or alternative criteria have been suggested and used in various countries with a longer immigration history, and, for this reason, with a longstanding history of collecting census data on multicultural population groups. This holds in particular for non-European English-dominant immigration countries like Australia, Canada, South Africa, and the USA. To identify the multicultural composition of their populations, these four countries employ a variety of questions in their periodical censuses on nationality, birth country, ethnicity, ancestry, race, languages spoken at home and/or at work, and religion. In Table 6, an overview of this array of questions is provided. For each country the last census is taken as the norm.

Table 6 Overview of census questions in four multicultural contexts

Questions in the census	Australia 2001	Canada 2001	South Africa 1996	USA 2000	Coverage
1 Nationality of respondent	+	+	+	+	4
2 Birth country of respondent	+	+	+	+	4
3 Birth country of parents	+	+	–	–	2
4 Ethnicity	–	+	–	+	2
5 Ancestry	+	+	–	+	3
6 Race	–	+	+	+	3
7 Mother tongue	–	+	–	–	1
8 Language used at home	+	+	+	+	4
9 Language used at work	–	+	–	–	1
10 Proficiency in English	+	+	–	+	3
11 Religion	+	+	+	–	3
Total of dimensions	7	11	5	7	30

Both the type and number of questions are different per country. Canada has a prime position with the highest number of questions. Only three questions have been asked in all countries, whereas two questions have been asked in only one country. Four different questions have been asked about language. The operationalisation of questions also shows interesting differences, both between and within countries across time (see Clyne 1991 for a discussion of methodological problems in comparing the answers to differently phrased questions in Australian censuses from a longitudinal perspective).

Questions about ethnicity, ancestry and/or race have proven to be problematic in all of the countries under consideration (see Section 1 on ethnicity; see also Broeder & Extra 1998). In some countries, ancestry and ethnicity have been conceived as equivalent, cf. the USA census question in 2000: *What is this person's ancestry or ethnic origin?* Or take the Canadian census question in 2001: *To which ethnic or cultural group(s) did this person's ancestors belong?* The Australian census question in 2001 only involves ancestry and not ethnicity, cf. *What is the person's ancestry?* with the following comments for respondents: *Consider and mark the ancestries with which you most closely identify. Count your ancestry as far as three generations,*

including grandparents and great-grandparents. As far as ethnicity and ancestry have been distinguished in census questions, the former concept related most commonly to present self-categorization of the respondent and the latter to former generations. In what ways respondents themselves interpret both concepts, however, remains a problem that cannot be solved easily.

While ‘ethnicity’ according to Table 6 has been asked in the recent censuses of only two countries, four language-related questions have been asked in one to four countries. Only in Canada has the concept of ‘mother tongue’ been asked about. It has been defined for respondents as *language first learnt at home in childhood and still understood*, while questions 8 and 9 related to the language *most often* used at home/work. Table 6 shows the added value of language-related census questions on the definition and identification of multicultural populations, in particular the added value of the question on home language use compared to questions on the more opaque concepts of mother tongue and ethnicity. Although the language-related census questions in the four countries under consideration differ in their precise formulation and commentary, the outcomes of these questions are generally conceived as cornerstones for educational policies with respect to the teaching of English as a first or second language and the teaching of languages other than English.

Derived from this overview it can be concluded that large-scale home language surveys are both feasible and meaningful and that the interpretation of the resulting database is made easier by transparent and multiple questions on home language use. These conclusions become even more pertinent in the context of gathering data on multicultural *school* populations. European experiences in this domain have been gathered in particular in Great Britain and Sweden (cf. Broeder & Extra 1998 for an overview). In both countries extensive municipal home language statistics have been collected through local educational authorities by asking school children questions about oral and written skills in other languages than the national language and about the participation and need for education in these languages.

An important similarity in the phrased questions about home language use is that the outcomes are based on reported rather than observed facts. Answers to questions on home language use may be coloured by the language of the questions itself (which may or may not be the primary language of the respondent), by the ethnicity of the interviewer (which may or may not be the same as the ethnicity of the respondent), by the aimed at or perceived goals of the sampling (which may or may not be defined by national or local authorities) and by the spirit of times (which may or may not be in favour of multiculturalism). These problems become even more evident in a school-related context of pupils as respondents. Apart from the problems mentioned, the answers may be coloured by peer group pressure and the answers may lead to interpretation problems in attempts to identify and classify languages on the basis of the answers given. For a discussion of these and other possible effects we refer to Nicholas (1992) and Alladina (1993). The problems referred to are inherent characteristics of large-scale data gathering through questionnaires about language-related behaviour and can only be compensated by small-scale data gathering through observing actual language behaviour. Such small-scale ethnographic research is not an alternative solution to large-scale language surveys, but a potentially valuable complement. For a discussion of (cor)relations between reported and measured bilingualism of IM children in the Netherlands we refer to Broeder & Extra (1998).

Throughout the EU it is common practice to present data on RM groups on the basis of (home) language and/or ethnicity and to present data on IM groups on the basis of nationality and/or country of birth. However, convergence between these criteria for the two groups appears over time, due to the increasing period of migration and minorization of IM groups in EU countries. Due to their prolonged/permanent stay, there is strong erosion in the utilization of nationality or birth-country statistics. Given the decreasing significance of nationality and birth country criteria in the European context, the combined criteria of self-categorization and home language use are

potentially promising alternatives for obtaining basic information on the increasingly multicultural composition of European nation-states. The added value of home language statistics is that they offer valuable insights into the distribution and vitality of home languages across different population groups and thus raise the awareness of multilingualism.

Empirically collected data on home language use also play a crucial role in the context of education. Such data will not only raise the awareness of multilingualism in multicultural schools; they are in fact indispensable tools for educational policies on the teaching of both the national majority language as a first or second language and the teaching of minority languages. Obviously, a cross-national home language database would offer interesting comparative opportunities from each of these perspectives.

3 – Sociolinguistic perspectives

In this section our focus is on the distribution and vitality of IM languages across Europe. Most sociolinguistic minority studies deal with RM languages rather than IM languages. Also in the former domain, however, we are faced with much diversity in the quality of the data. In some European states, there are fairly accurate figures because a language question has been included in the census several times; in other cases, we only have rough estimates by insiders to the language group (usually language activists who want to boost the figures) or by outsiders (e.g. state officials who quite often want to downplay the number of speakers). Extra & Gorter (2001) have used a simple typology for distinguishing between five categories of RM languages within the EU and have also presented estimates of their number of speakers (see also Gorter et al. 1990):

- unique RM languages, spoken in a particular part of only one EU member state (e.g. Breton in France, Sorbian in Germany or Galician in Spain);
- cross-border RM languages, spoken in more than one nation-state (e.g. Basque in Spain and France, Saami in Sweden and Finland, or Limburgian in the Netherlands and Belgium);
- languages which are a minority language in one member state, but the dominant official language in a neighbouring state (e.g. Albanian in Greece, Croatian and Slovenian in Austria, Danish in Germany, German in France and Belgium, or Swedish in Finland *versus* Finnish in Sweden);
- official EU state languages, but not official EU working languages (Luxemburgish, also spoken in France, and Irish, also spoken in Northern Ireland);
- non-territorial minority languages (in particular Romani and Yiddish).

Given the overwhelming focus on processes of second language acquisition by IM groups, there is much less evidence on the status and use of IM languages across Europe as a result of processes of immigration and minorization. In contrast to RM languages, IM languages have no established status in terms of period and area of residence. Obviously, typological differences between IM languages across EU member states do exist, e.g. in terms of the status of IM languages as EU or non-EU languages (see also Section 5, Table 19), or as languages of formerly colonized source countries. Taken from the latter perspective, e.g. Indian languages emerge in the United Kingdom, Arabic languages in France, Congolese languages in Belgium, and Surinamese languages in the Netherlands. Most studies on IM languages in Europe focus on a spectrum of IM languages at the level of a particular nation-state (e.g. Alladina & Edwards 1991, LMP 1985, Extra & De Ruiter 2001, Extra et al. 2002, Extra & Verhoeven 1993a, Caubet et al. 2002) or on one particular IM language at the national or European level (e.g. Obdeijn & De Ruiter 1998 and Tilmatine 1997 on Arabic in Europe).

There are only few studies that take both a cross-national and cross-linguistic perspective on the status and use of IM languages in Europe (e.g., Jaspaert & Kroon 1991, Extra & Verhoeven 1993b, 1998, Fase et al. 1995 and Ammerlaan et al. 2001). In this section we will present the rationale, method, and first outcomes of the *Multilingual Cities Project* (MCP henceforth), carried out in six major multicultural cities in different EU member states. The project is carried out under the auspices of the European Cultural Foundation, established in Amsterdam, and it is coordinated by a research team at Babylon, Centre for Studies of Multilingualism in the Multicultural Society, established at Tilburg University, the Netherlands.

The aims of the MCP are to gather, analyse and compare multiple data on the status of IM languages at home and at school. In the participating cities, ranging from Northern to Southern Europe, Germanic and/or Romance languages have a dominant status in public life. Figure 1 gives an outline of the project.

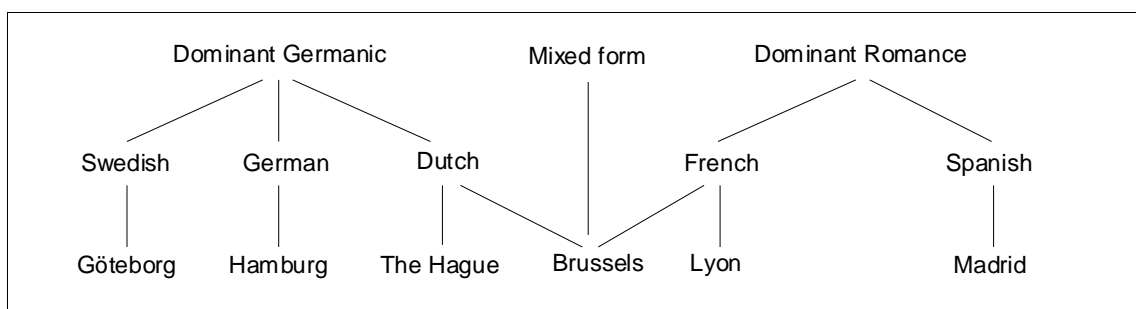


Figure 1 Outline of the Multilingual Cities Project (MCP)

Due to processes of migration and minorization, all of these cities can be characterized as increasingly multicultural and multilingual. Apart from Scandinavian countries, there is no European tradition of collecting home language statistics on multicultural (school) population groups. Our method of carrying out home language surveys amongst primary school children in each of these cities partly derives from experiences abroad with nation-wide or at least large-scale population surveys in which commonly single questions on home language use were asked. In contrast to such questionnaires, our survey is based on multiple rather than single home language questions and on cross-nationally equivalent questions. In doing so, we aim at describing and comparing multiple language profiles of major IM communities in each of the cities under consideration. For each language community, the language profile will consist of five dimensions, based on the reported language repertoire (1), language proficiency (2), language choice (3), language dominance (4), and language preference (5). Derived from this database, we will construe a (pseudo)longitudinal profile and a language vitality index for each language community. Our ultimate goal is to put these data in both cross-linguistic and cross-national perspectives. In sum, the rationale for collecting, analysing and comparing multiple home language data on multicultural school populations derives from three different perspectives:

- taken from a *demographic* perspective, home language data can play a crucial role in the definition and identification of multicultural school populations;
- taken from a *sociolinguistic* perspective, home language data can offer relevant insights into both the distribution and vitality of home languages across groups, and can thus raise the public awareness of multilingualism;
- taken from an *educational* perspective, home language data are indispensable tools for educational planning and policies.

The questionnaire for data collection has been designed after an ample study and evaluation of language-related questions in nation-wide or large-scale population research in a variety of countries with a history of migration and minorization processes (see Broeder & Extra 1998), and is also derived from extensive empirical experiences gained in carrying out municipal home language surveys amongst pupils both in primary and secondary schools in the Netherlands (see Extra et al. 2001, 2002). Table 7 gives an outline of the questionnaire.

Table 7 Outline of the MCP questionnaire

Questions	Focus
1-3	personal information (name/code, age, gender)
4-8	school information (city, district, name, type, grade)
9-11	birth country of the pupil, father and mother
12	selective screening question ('Are any other languages than X ever used in your home? If yes, complete all the questions; if no, continue with questions 18-20')
13-17	language repertoire, language proficiency, language choice, language dominance, and language preference
18-20	languages learnt at/outside school and languages demanded by pupils from school

In compliance with privacy legislation, the database only contains home language data at the levels of municipalities, schools, and grades; no data can be traced back to individuals. The answers to questions 9-12 make it possible to compare the status of birth country data and home language data as demographic criteria. The countries and languages explicitly mentioned in questions 9-12 are determined on the basis of the most recent municipal statistics about IM children at primary schools; thus, the list of languages for, e.g., Hamburg is quite different from the one used in Madrid. The language profile, specified by questions 13-17, consists of the following five dimensions:

- language repertoire: the number and type of (co-)occurring home languages;
- language proficiency: the extent to which the pupil can understand/speak/read/write the home language;
- language choice: the extent to which the home language is commonly spoken with the mother, father, younger and older brothers/sisters, and best friends;
- language dominance: the extent to which the home language is spoken best;
- language preference: the extent to which the home language is preferred to be spoken.

The questionnaire had been tested on many occasions in the Dutch context. The Dutch questionnaire was translated into equivalent versions in French, German, Spanish, and Swedish. It has been tested in one primary school in each partner city. On the basis of the suggestions of local educational authorities and researchers, phrasing and wording of the questionnaires were further adapted. It was made sure that the basic questions on language were the same in all questionnaires. Basically, all six cities had the same questions, but one additional question on 'nationality' was added to the German questionnaire. This question was not included in any of the other cities.

Given the increasing role of municipalities as educational authorities in all partner cities, the project has been carried out in close cooperation between research groups at local universities and local educational authorities. In each partner city, this cooperation has proven to be of essential value. Table 8 gives an overview of the resulting database derived from the reports of primary school children in an age range of 4-12 years (only in The Hague were also data collected at secondary schools). The total cross-national sample consists of more than 160,000 pupils.

Table 8 Overview of the MCP data base (* Dutch-medium schools only; ** *Réseau d'Education Prioritaire* only)

City	Total of schools	Total of schools in the survey	Total of pupils in schools	Total of pupils in the survey	Age range of pupils
Brussels	117 *	110 *	11,500	10,300	6-12
Hamburg	231 public 17 catholic	218 public 14 catholic	54,900	46,000	6-10
Lyon	173 **	42 **	60,000	11,650	6-11
Madrid	708 public 411 catholic	133 public 21 catholic	202,000 99,000	30,000	5-12
The Hague	142 primary 30 secondary	109 primary 26 secondary	41,170 19,000	27,900 13,700	4-12 12-17
Göteborg	170	122	36,100	21,300	6-12

The translated and tested questionnaires were printed in multiple copies. Due to automatic processing it was essential that printed rather than photocopied questionnaires were used. Uniformity both in terms of content and form was highly important for the data processing convenience. Local educational authorities sent out letters of permission to schools and/or parents so that their children could participate in the survey. In each city, the printed questionnaires were distributed to school directors. Each school received a sufficient amount of questionnaires. In some cities, school directors asked the cooperation of classroom teachers to fill-out the questionnaires together with pupils. In some other cities, for instance in Hamburg and Brussels, students at educational departments took part in the data collection. Both for classroom teachers and for data collection assistants a manual in the local languages was prepared so that the interaction with the pupils would be smoother. In some cases, e.g. in Brussels, an intensive one-day workshop was held to train student assistants.

The filled-out questionnaires were sent back first to local universities. Data processing was centrally done in Tilburg by Babylon researchers. Given the large amount of the database, an automatic processing technique based on specially developed software and available hardware has been developed and utilized. By means of this automatic processing technique around 5,000 forms could be scanned each day. Because some fields were filled-out in handwriting, additional verification of some questionnaire items had to be done by means of character recognition software; in this way, around 4,000 forms could be processed each day. After scanning and verification had been completed, the database for each city was analysed by using the SPSS program.

In this context, we will focus on kernel outcomes of the project in The Hague as a case study. A comprehensive report of the goals, method, and outcomes of the language survey in The Hague is presented by Extra et al. (2001). The Hague was chosen as the target city in the Netherlands because it belongs together with Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and Utrecht to the four largest and most multicultural cities of this country. Table 9 gives a specification of the total database for both primary and secondary schools.

Table 9 Overview of the database in The Hague

	Total	Sample	Proportion
Primary education			
schools	142	109	77%
locations	158	123	78%
pupils	41,170	27,900	68%
Secondary education			
schools	30	26	87%
locations	51	43	84%
pupils	± 19,000	13,700	72%

Both the coverage of participating schools/locations and pupils are substantial. All in all, 135 schools and 41,600 pupils in an age range of 4-17 years participated in the survey. Some of the key findings are:

- 49% of all primary school pupils reported that apart from or instead of Dutch one or more other languages were used in their homes;
- the same holds for 42% of all secondary school pupils;
- 88 other home languages than Dutch could be traced in the total population of 41,600 pupils;
- the 21 most frequently reported languages had a coverage of 96% of the total amount of references to other languages than Dutch.

Table 10 gives the ranking of these 21 most frequently reported home languages.

Table 10 Ranking of 21 most frequently reported home languages (N>100) (PS = primary schools, SS = secondary schools)

Nr	Language	Total PS/SS	Total PS	Ranking PS	Total SS	Ranking SS
1	Turkish	4,789	3,666	1	1,123	2
2	Hind(ustan)i	3,620	2,339	2	1,281	1
3	Berber	2,769	1,830	4	939	4
4	Arabic	2,740	1,941	3	799	5
5	English	2,170	1,219	5	951	3
6	Sranan Tongo	1,085	514	7	571	6
7	Papiamentu	893	682	6	211	9
8	Kurdish	678	399	8	279	7.5
9	Spanish	588	381	10	207	11
10	Urdu/Pakistani	547	390	9	157	13
11	French	535	256	11	279	7.5
12	Chinese	419	245	12	174	12
13	German	402	194	14	208	10
14	Somalian	288	224	13	64	17
15	Javanese	262	111	18	151	14
16	Portuguese	199	127	16	72	15
17	Italian	166	120	17	46	20
18	Akan/Twi/Ghanese	152	134	15	18	21
19	Farsi	131	71	19	60	19
20	Moluccan/Malay	130	63	20	67	16
21	Serbian/Croatian/Bosnian	116	54	21	62	18

In Table 10, the distribution of languages is presented under three columns: primary and secondary schools are taken together and separately. In each column, the top-5 languages are the same but the order of occurrence is different in the primary and secondary school categories.

For each of these 21 languages, a (pseudo)longitudinal language profile has been specified in terms of the earlier mentioned dimensions, based on 7 age groups. Moreover, for each language group tabulated information is presented on the total number of pupils per age group, the birth countries of the pupils and their parents, and the type and frequency of co-occurring home languages. Tables 11-13 illustrate the presented information in Extra et al. (2001) for the largest group of children, i.e. the Turkish language group.

Table 11 Total number of pupils with Turkish as home language

Age group	4/5	6/7	8/9	10/11	12/13	14/15	16/17	Unknown	Total
N pupils	830	833	853	851	532	460	262	168	4789

Table 12 Birth countries of the pupils and their parents

Birth country	Pupil		Mother		Father	
The Netherlands	3,425	72%	248	5%	204	4%
Turkey	1,263	26%	4,323	90%	4,404	92%
Surinam	5	-	17	-	14	-
Germany	13	-	10	-	5	-
(Former) Yugoslavia	4	-	11	-	9	-
Macedonia	5	-	9	-	9	-
Other countries	27	1%	51	1%	43	1%
Unknown	47	1%	120	3%	101	2%
Total	4,789	100%	4,789	100%	4,789	100%

Table 13 Reported home languages co-occurring with Turkish

Kurdish	488	Serbian/Croatian/Bosnian	16
English	100	Berber	15
Arabic	74	Zaza	15
German	45	Hind(ustan)i	10
French	26	19 other languages	64

Table 11 shows that most children are in the age range of 4-11 years, Table 12 that most children have been born in the Netherlands and that even more parents have been born in Turkey, and Table 13 that the major co-occurring home language apart from Turkish is Kurdish (for 10% of all 4,789 children).

Figures 2-5 illustrate the presented pseudo-longitudinal information in Extra et al. (2001) on each of the following reported language dimensions for the Turkish language group:

- *Language proficiency* (Figure 2): The reported oral skills of understanding/speaking are highly developed at the age of 4-5 years (96/93%) and remain so until 16-17 years (94/95%). The literacy skills of reading/writing show a fast and strong increase from 27/24% at the age of 6-7 years to 89/85% at the age of 16-17 years.
- *Language choice* (Figure 3): At home, most of the pupils speak commonly Turkish with their mother (84-89%) and father (77-86%). Turkish is also commonly spoken at home with younger brothers/sisters (44-62%). A more differentiated picture emerges in the use of Turkish at home with older brothers/sisters (33-58%) and with best friends (35-69%).

- *Language dominance* (Figure 4): Dominance in Turkish is reported for the youngest (4-7 years) and oldest pupils (14-17 years). At the interim ages of 8-13 years, the reported dominant language is Dutch. Balanced bilingualism in Turkish and Dutch is reported in an increasing pattern by 5-17% of the successive age groups.
- *Language preference* (Figure 5): The pattern of language preference is similar to the pattern of language dominance. The youngest pupils (4-5 years) report Turkish as their language of preference, the pupils of 8-13 years Dutch. The oldest pupils (14-17 years) show a converging pattern of preference for one of the two languages. Also in Figure 5 an increasing pattern of 6-24% of the successive age groups emerges for pupils who report no preference for one particular language.

The information presented in Tables 11-13 and Figures 2-5 for the Turkish language group has been made available in Extra et al. (2001) for all 21 language groups as referred to in Table 10. In this way, the survey has created an unprecedented amount of information on multilingualism in The Hague. Derived from the home language profiles of these 21 language groups, a cross-linguistic and pseudolongitudinal comparison has been made of the four dimensions of language proficiency, language choice, language dominance, and language preference. For this analysis, these four dimensions have been operationalized as follows:

- language proficiency: the extent to which the home language is *understood*;
- language choice: the extent to which the language is spoken at home *with the mother*;
- language dominance: the extent to which the home language is spoken *best*;
- language preference: the extent to which the home language is *preferred* to be spoken.

The operationalisation of the first and second dimension (language proficiency and language choice, respectively) is aimed at a maximal scope. The final aim is the construction of a language vitality index (LVI). Since the concept of ethnolinguistic vitality was introduced by Giles et al. (1977), the focus has been on its determinants rather than on its operationalisation. In our case, the operationalisation of ethnolinguistic vitality is derived from the language profiles. In Table 14, the four above-mentioned language dimensions are compared as proportional scores, i.e. the mean proportion of pupils per language groups that indicate a positive response to the questions under consideration. The (decreasing) LVI in the final column of Table 14 is, in its turn, the mean value of these four proportional scores. This LVI is by definition an arbitrary index, in the sense that the *chosen* dimensions with the *chosen* operationalisations are *equally* weighted. Table 14 gives an overview of the resulting LVI per language group in decreasing order of vitality.

Figure 2 Language proficiency in Turkish

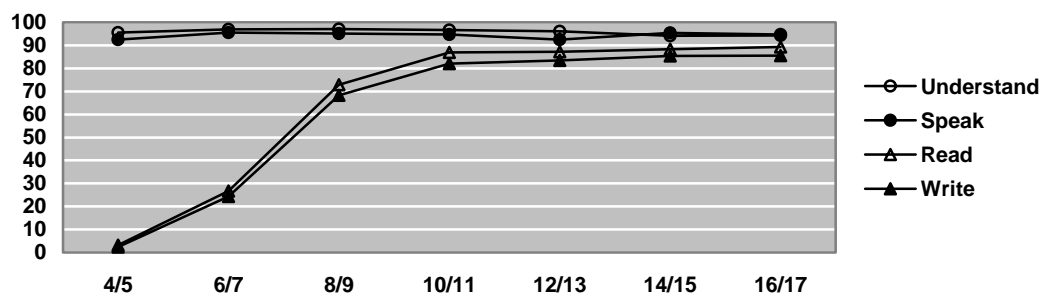


Figure 3 Language choice in Turkish

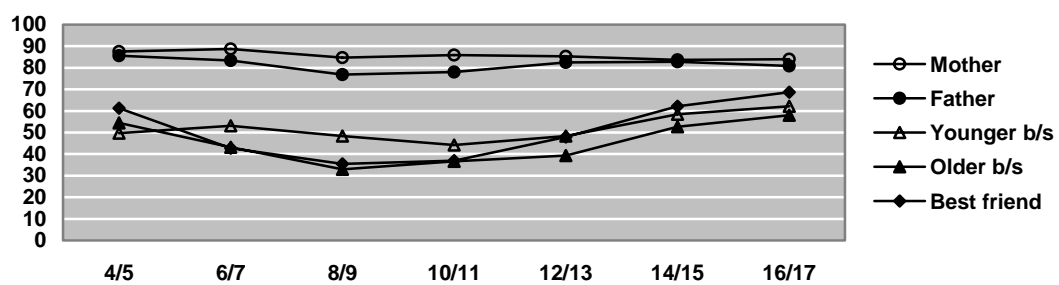


Figure 4 Language dominance in Turkish and Dutch

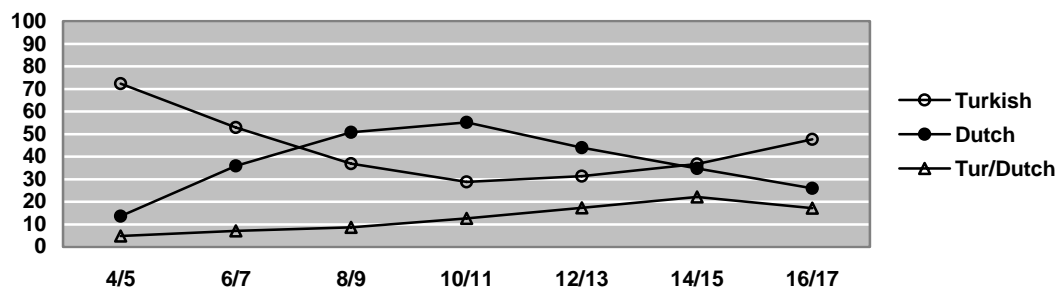


Figure 5 Language preference for Turkish and Dutch

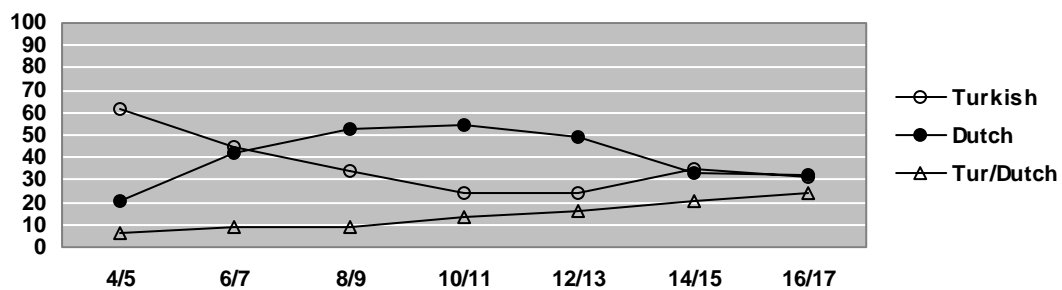


Table 14 Language vitality index per language group, based on mean value of four language dimensions (in %)

Language group	N pupils	Language proficiency	Language choice	Language dominance	Language preference	Language vitality
Turkish	4,789	96	86	56	50	72
Somalian	288	92	88	57	53	72
Farsi	131	92	84	54	53	71
Chinese	419	94	82	52	48	68
Urdu/Pakistani	547	94	80	46	51	68
Berber	2,769	94	83	43	42	66
Serbian/Croatian/Bosn.	116	84	62	43	52	62
Papiamentu	893	87	58	40	46	58
Akan/Twi/Ghanese	152	89	69	37	33	57
Arabic	2,740	89	60	38	42	57
Portuguese	199	82	58	28	41	53
Kurdish	678	85	58	31	31	51
Spanish	588	84	53	25	36	51
Hind(ustan)I	3,620	89	40	18	30	44
English	2,170	83	29	21	37	42
Moluccan/Malay	130	74	39	14	30	42
French	535	68	32	19	25	37
Italian	166	67	30	14	26	37
Sranan Tongo	1,085	82	28	15	34	37
German	402	77	24	14	20	34
Javanese	262	73	23	6	16	28

Turkish emerges as the most vital IM language. Its status is only shared by Somalian and Farsi, in spite of the fact that Turkish has a longer intergenerational status as a language of immigration and minorization in the Netherlands. A remarkable outcome is also the higher vitality of Berber compared to Arabic; both languages occur and/or co-occur as home languages of the Moroccan community in the Netherlands. A relatively low vitality emerges for those languages that have been in contact with Dutch abroad as a language of colonization, in particular Hind(ustan)i (in Surinam), Moluccan Malay (in Indonesia), Sranan Tongo (in Surinam), and Javanese (in Indonesia); Papiamentu (spoken on the Dutch Antillean Islands) withdraws, however, from this general colonial picture. Relatively low vitality indexes finally emerge for English, French, German, and Italian; in particular the three former languages have a higher vitality at school than at home in the Netherlands, due to their status of obligatory or optional school subjects.

The aim of the Multilingual Cities Project is to make available kernel data on the status of IM languages at home and at school in the six multicultural cities mentioned in Figure 1. All municipal reports will include kernel data on the distribution and vitality of IM languages at home and at school. Moreover, we aim at analysing all municipal data from both cross-national and cross-linguistic perspectives. The outcomes of the municipal studies are made available in six local reports, written in the national languages of the participating countries. The outcomes of the cross-national study will be made available in a comprehensive report in English.

4 – Language rights perspectives

In this section we focus on the status of RM and IM languages in terms of declared language rights. For a valuable overview and discussion of existing policy documents on the theme of minority language rights we refer to De Varennes (1997). Here we will only deal with an important selection. There is a growing international awareness that, irrespective of the fundamental freedoms of the individual as expressed most noteworthy in the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in December 1948, minority groups have rights that should be acknowledged and accommodated as well. As a result, the recognition and protection of minorities has become a significant issue in international law. At the UN World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna in June 1993, a Declaration was adopted which confirmed

the importance of the promotion and protection of the rights of persons belonging to minorities and the contribution of such promotion and protection to the political and social stability of the State in which such persons live.

It is important to note that diversity is recognized in this Declaration as a prerequisite and not as a threat to social cohesion. A complicated issue is the definition of ‘minority’ in legal documents. The concept has both quantitative and qualitative dimensions, based on dominated size and dominated status respectively. Dominated status may refer to, e.g. physical, social, cultural, religious, linguistic, economic or legal characteristics of minority groups. Attempts by the UN to reach an acceptable definition, however, have been largely unsuccessful (see Capotorti 1979). The *UN International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* (1966) endures as the most significant international law provision on the protection of minorities. Article 27 of the covenant states:

In those states in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities shall not be denied the right, in community with others of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion, or to use their own language.

Article 27 of this Covenant does not contain a definition of minorities, nor does it make any provision for a body to designate them. Nevertheless, it refers to three prominent minority properties in terms of ethnicity, religion or language, and it refers to ‘persons’, not to ‘nationals’. While Article 27 of the 1966 UN Covenant takes a defensive perspective on minority rights (‘shall not be denied’), later UN documents give evidence of more affirmative action. Article 4 of the *UN Declaration of the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities*, adopted by the General Assembly in December 1992, contains certain modest obligations on states

to take measures to create favourable conditions to enable persons belonging to minorities to express their characteristics and to develop their culture, to provide them with adequate opportunities to learn their mother tongue or to have instruction in their mother tongue and to enable them to participate fully in the economic progress and development in their country.

Although adopted by the UN General Assembly, this document remains as yet a non-binding Declaration. In contrast to the protection offered to individuals in terms of international human rights (cf. the previously cited Article 27 of the 1966 UN Covenant or Article 4 of the 1992 UN Declaration), minority groups as such appear to be largely ignored.

At the European level, the *Treaty of Rome* (1958) confers equal status on all national languages of the EU member states (with the exception of Irish and Luxembourgian) as working languages. On

numerous occasions, the EU ministers of education have declared that the EU citizens' knowledge of languages should be promoted (see Baetens Beardsmore 1993). Each EU member state should promote pupils' proficiency in at least two 'foreign' languages, and at least one of these languages should be the official language of one of the EU states. Promoting knowledge of RM and/or IM languages has been left out of consideration in these ministerial statements. At the European level many linguistic minorities have nevertheless found in the institutions of the former European Communities (EC) and the present EU a new forum for formulating and defending their right to exist. Although the numbers of both RM and IM groups are often small within the borders of particular nation-states, these numbers become much more substantial at the European level. The EC/EU institution which has shown the most affirmative action is the European Parliament.

The European Parliament accepted various resolutions in 1981, 1987 and 1994, in which the protection and promotion of RM languages was recommended. The first resolution led to the foundation of the *European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages* in 1982. Meanwhile, the Bureau has member state committees in almost all EU countries and it has recently acquired the status of *Non-Governmental Organization* (NGO) at the levels of the European Council and the United Nations. Another result of the European Parliament resolutions is the foundation of the European *MERCATOR Network*, aimed at promoting research on the status and use of RM languages.

The Council of Europe, set up in 1949, is a much broader organization than the EU, with 41 member states. Its main role today is to be 'the guardian of democratic security ! founded on human rights, democracy and the rule of law'. A bottom-up initiative from its Council for Local and Regional Authorities resulted in the *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages*, which was opened for signature in November 1992 and came into force in March 1998. In October 2002 it has been ratified by 16 out of 41 Council of Europe member states. The Charter is aimed at the protection and the promotion of 'the historical regional or minority languages of Europe'. Article 1a of the Charter states that the concept of 'regional or minority languages' refers to languages that are

- i traditionally used within a given territory of a State by nationals of that State who form a group numerically smaller than the rest of the State's population; and
 - ii different from the official language(s) of that State;
- it does not include either dialects of the official language(s) of the State or the languages of migrants.

It should be noted that the concepts of 'regional' and 'minority' languages are not specified in the Charter and that (im)migrant languages are explicitly excluded from the Charter. States are free in their choice of which RM languages to include. Also the degree of protection is not prescribed; thus a state can choose for light or tight policies. The result is a rich variety of different provisions accepted by the various states. At the same time the Charter implies some sort of European standard which most likely will gradually be further developed. Enforcement of the Charter is under control of a committee of experts which every three years examines reports presented by the Parties. The Charter asks for recognition, respect, maintenance, facilitation and promotion of RM languages, in particular in the domains of education, judicial authorities, administrative and public services, media, cultural activities, and socio-economic life (Articles 8-13). Article 8 states a whole set of measures for all stages of education, from pre-school to adult education, which are cited here in full ((relevant) regional or minority language(s) abbreviated here as (R)RML):

- 1 With regard to education, the Parties undertake, within the territory in which such languages are used, according to the situation of each of these languages, and without prejudice to the teaching of the official language(s) of the State:

- a
 - i to make available pre-school education in the RRML; or
 - ii to make available a substantial part of pre-school education in the RRML; or
 - iii to apply one of the measures provided for under i and ii above at least to those pupils whose families so request and whose number is considered sufficient; or
 - iv if the public authorities have no direct competence in the field of pre-school education, to favour and/or encourage the application of the measures referred to under i to iii above;
 - b
 - i to make available primary education in the RRML; or
 - ii to make available a substantial part of primary education in the RRML; or
 - iii to provide, within primary education, for the teaching of the RRML as an integral part of the curriculum; or
 - iv to apply one of the measures provided for under i to iii above at least to those pupils whose families so request and whose number is considered sufficient;
 - c
 - i to make available secondary education in the RRML; or
 - ii to make available a substantial part of secondary education in the RRML; or
 - iii to provide, within secondary education, for the teaching of the RRML as an integral part of the curriculum; or
 - iv to apply one of the measures provided for under i to iii above at least to those pupils who, or where appropriate whose families, so wish in a number considered sufficient;
 - d
 - i to make available technical and vocational education in the RRML; or
 - ii to make available a substantial part of technical and vocational education in the RRML; or
 - iii to provide, within technical and vocational education, for the teaching of the RRML as an integral part of the curriculum; or
 - iv to apply one of the measures provided for under i to iii above at least to those pupils who, or where appropriate whose families, so wish in a number considered sufficient;
 - e
 - i to make available university and other higher education in RML; or
 - ii to provide facilities for the study of these languages as university and higher education subjects; or
 - iii if, by reason of the role of the State in relation to higher education institutions, subparagraphs i and ii cannot be applied, to encourage and/or allow the provision of university or other forms of higher education in RML or of facilities for the study of these languages as university or higher education subjects;
 - f
 - i to arrange for the provision of adult and continuing education courses which are taught mainly or wholly in the RML; or
 - ii to offer such languages as subjects of adult and continuing education; or
 - iii if the public authorities have no direct competence in the field of adult education, to favour and/or encourage the offering of such languages as subjects of adult and continuing education;
 - g to make arrangements to ensure the teaching of the history and the culture which is reflected by the RML;
 - h to provide the basic and further training of the teachers required to implement those of paragraphs a to g by the Party;
 - i to set up a supervisory body or bodies responsible for monitoring the measures taken and progress achieved in establishing or developing the teaching of RML and for drawing up periodic reports of their findings, which will be made public.
- 2 With regard to education and in respect of territories other than those in which the RML are traditionally used, the Parties undertake, if the number of users of a RML justifies it, to allow, encourage or provide teaching in or of the RML at all the appropriate stages of education.

As a parallel activity to the *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages*, the Council of Europe opened the *Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities* for

signature in February 1995. This treaty does not focus on language(s). It is more general in its aims and scope, and it has far less specific provisions for protection and promotion of the minorities concerned. Still it also offers a European standard to which states have to adhere. Although in this framework no definition of ‘national minorities’ is given, it is clear from the document that ‘non-national’ immigrant groups are again excluded from the considerations. Articles 5 and 6 of the Framework state the following:

Article 5

- 1 The Parties undertake to promote the conditions necessary for persons belonging to national minorities to maintain and develop their culture, and to preserve the essential elements of their identity, namely their religion, language, traditions and cultural heritage.
- 2 Without prejudice to measures taken in pursuance of their general integration policy, the Parties shall refrain from policies or practices aimed at assimilation of persons belonging to national minorities against their will and shall protect these persons from any action aimed at such assimilation.

Article 6

- 1 The Parties shall encourage a spirit of tolerance and intercultural dialogue and take effective measures to promote mutual respect and understanding and co-operation among all persons living on their territory, irrespective of those persons’ ethnic, cultural, linguistic or religious identity, in particular in the fields of education, culture and the media.
- 2 The Parties undertake to take appropriate measures to protect persons who may be subject to threats or acts of discrimination, hostility or violence as a result of their ethnic, cultural, linguistic or religious identity.

Ratification of this framework was more successful than in the case of the European Charter mentioned before. At the end of 2002, 35 out of 42 Council of Europe member states had ratified the framework. It is interesting to note that the Netherlands, being among the first four states to sign the Charter, has not yet signed the Framework Convention. In the preparations for the ratification of the Framework Convention the proposal to the Parliament was to include Frisians as well as IM groups as ‘national minorities’; in the latter case, however, only those that are formal target groups of the Netherlands’ IM policy.

A final document of the Council of Europe that should be referred to in this context, is *Recommendation 1383 on Linguistic Diversification*, adopted by the Council’s Parliamentary Assembly in September 1998. Article 5 states that

there should (...) be more variety in modern language teaching in the Council of Europe member states: this should result in the acquisition not only of English but also of other European and world languages by all European citizens, in parallel with the mastery of their own national and, where appropriate, regional language.

In Article 8i the Assembly also recommends that the Committee of Ministers invite member states

to improve the creation of regional language plans, drawn up in collaboration with elected regional representatives and local authorities, with a view to identifying existing linguistic potential and developing the teaching of the languages concerned, while taking account of the presence of non-native population groups, twinning arrangements, exchanges and the proximity of foreign countries.

While Article 5 is restricted to ‘regional’ languages, Article 8i recognizes for the first time the relevance of ‘non-native’ groups in the context of language planning.

Apart from the Council of Europe's efforts, two other initiatives on language rights should be mentioned here as well. A host of institutions and non-governmental organizations signed the *Universal Declaration on Linguistic Rights* in Barcelona, June 1996. This Declaration takes as a starting point language groups instead of states and explicitly includes both RM and IM languages, in contrast to the earlier mentioned *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages*. Article 1.5 says:

This Declaration considers as a language group any group of persons sharing the same language which is established in the territorial space of another language community but which does not possess historical antecedents equivalent to those of that community. Examples of such groups are immigrants, refugees, deported persons and members of diasporas.

Articles 4 deals with the issue of integration and assimilation in the following way:

Article 4.1

This Declaration considers that persons who move to and settle in the territory of another language community have the right and the duty to maintain an attitude of integration towards this community. This term is understood to mean an additional socialization of such persons in such a way that they may preserve their original cultural characteristics while sharing with the society in which they have settled sufficient references, values and forms of behaviour to enable them to function socially without greater difficulties than those experienced by members of the host community.

Article 4.2

This Declaration considers, on the other hand, that assimilation, a term which is understood to mean acculturation in the host society, in such a way that the original cultural characteristics are replaced by the references, values and forms of behaviour of the host society, must on no account be forced or induced and can only be the result of an entirely free decision.

Article 5 indirectly criticizes the European Charter's focus on RM languages by stating:

This Declaration is based on the principle that the rights of all language communities are equal and independent of their legal status as official, regional or minority languages. Terms such as regional or minority languages are not used in this Declaration because, though in certain cases the recognition of regional or minority languages can facilitate the exercise of certain rights, these and other modifiers are frequently used to restrict the rights of language communities.

In line with the European Charter, the Universal Declaration defines domains of linguistic rights in terms of public administration and official bodies, education, proper names, media and new technologies, culture and the socio-economic sphere. Another recent and important document on language rights is *The Oslo Recommendations Regarding the Linguistic Rights of National Minorities*, approved by the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) in Oslo, February 1998. The focus of this document is on 'persons belonging to national/ethnic groups who constitute the numerical majority in one State but the numerical minority in another (usually neighbouring) State'. The document was designed in the context of many recent tensions surrounding such groups in Central and Eastern Europe. Its *Explanatory Note* contains valuable sources of information on related documents in the domains of (proper) names, religion, community life, media, economic life, administrative authorities and public services, independent national institutions, judicial authorities and deprivation of liberty. In an earlier separate document, referred to as *The Hague Recommendations Regarding the Education Rights of National Minorities* and published in October 1996, the OSCE focuses on educational measures.

As yet, specific documents on the language rights of IM groups in Europe hardly exist. The major document is the *Directive of the Council of the European Communities* (now the EU) *on the schooling of children of migrant workers*, published in Brussels, July 1977. Although this Directive has promoted the legitimisation of IM language instruction and occasionally also its legislation in some countries (see Reid & Reich 1992, Fase 1994), the Directive was very limited in its ambitions regarding minority language teaching and has meanwhile become completely outdated.

On the basis of recommendations at an expert meeting on both RM and IM languages which was convened under the auspices of the European Cultural Foundation, established in Amsterdam, Extra & Gorter (2001) present the *Declaration of Oegstgeest: Moving away from a monolingual habitus*. The Declaration proposes a set of measures to improve (home) language data-gathering methods and to stimulate action programmes in, e.g. education and research, thus improving the status of both RM and IM languages across Europe. The idea behind the Declaration was to prepare an overarching document that would be useful for decision makers in the development of further policy, whether on the regional, national or European level. The final text of the Declaration was unanimously adopted on 30 January 2000 in Oegstgeest (the Netherlands) and is presented as an Appendix in Extra & Gorter (2001). The Declaration has been distributed to many politicians and decisions makers across Europe.

As mentioned at the beginning of this section, it is important to note that in many of the quoted documents cultural pluralism or diversity is conceived as a prerequisite for, and not a threat to, social cohesion or integration. A plea for reconciling the concepts of diversity and cohesion has recently also been made by the Migration Policy Group (2000), in co-operation with the European Cultural Foundation, on the basis of a comprehensive survey and evaluation of available policy documents and new policy developments and orientations. The Migration Policy Group's report puts 'historic' and 'new' minorities in Europe in an overarching context. Both types of minorities significantly contributed and contribute to Europe's cultural, religious, linguistic and ethnic diversity. European nation-states are reluctant to recognize and respect this diversity as part of their national, and increasingly European, identity. However, multicultural and multi-ethnic nation-states are a common phenomenon in Europe's distant and recent past. Abroad, diversity due to immigration and minorization, has become part of the national identity and heritage of English-dominant countries such as the USA, Canada, Australia and South Africa.

European nation-states and agencies have decreed and published many documents on the protection of human rights in general, and language rights in particular. The overarching ideal of the EU is to operate on the basis of common rights, responsibilities and universal values such as democracy, freedom of speech, reign of law, and respect for human rights. De Varennes (2001:1) points out that the rights of minorities are often thought of as constituting a distinct category of rights, different from traditional human rights. The basic proposition of De Varennes is that people should not create different categories of 'language rights' or 'minority rights'. Such descriptive categories would only lead to further discrimination between people and groups. Some European declarations, actually, looked at the 'rights' issues from the all-inclusive angle of a basic human rights perspective. As stated earlier, terms such as regional or minority languages are not used in the *Barcelona Declaration on Linguistic Rights* because such terms allocate different types of 'rights' for different language communities and in most cases certain groups, e.g. IM groups, are disadvantaged.

An inclusive perspective is also taken in the *UNESCO Universal Declaration of Cultural Diversity* (last update January 25, 2002, see <http://www.unesco.org/culture/pluralism/diversity> for the full text), which does not make a distinction between RM and IM languages either. Articles 2 and 4 deal with cultural diversity in the following way:

Article 2 – From cultural diversity to cultural pluralism

In our increasingly diverse societies, it is essential to ensure harmonious interaction among people and groups with plural, varied and dynamic cultural identities as well as their willingness to live together. Policies for the inclusion and participation of all citizens are guarantees of social cohesion, the vitality of civil society and peace. Thus defined, cultural pluralism gives policy expression to the reality of cultural diversity. Indissociable from a democratic framework, cultural pluralism is conducive to cultural exchange and to the flourishing of creative capacities that sustain public life.

Article 4 – Human rights as guarantees of cultural diversity

The defence of cultural diversity is an ethical imperative, inseparable from respect for human dignity. It implies a commitment to human rights and fundamental freedoms, in particular the rights of persons belonging to minorities and those of indigenous peoples. No one may invoke cultural diversity to infringe upon human rights guaranteed by international law, nor to limit their scope.

There is a clear linkage between cultural diversity and human rights in this UNESCO Declaration, which also becomes apparent in other Articles. Moreover, the UNESCO Declaration has an appended Action Plan in which the Member States commit themselves to taking appropriate steps to disseminate the Declaration widely and to cooperate in achieving a whole set of objectives. Among these objectives are the following languages-related ones:

Article 12.5

Safeguarding the linguistic heritage of humanity and giving support to expression, creation and dissemination in the greatest possible number of languages.

Article 12.6

Encouraging linguistic diversity – while respecting the mother tongue – at all levels of education, wherever possible, and fostering the learning of several languages from the youngest age.

Not all countries share the pleas that are made in the UNESCO Universal Declaration. In reviewing the *MOST Journal on Multicultural Societies*, Wright (2001) details the reasons of this reluctance. In documenting the evolution of nation-state ideology, Wright shows that language minorities were conceived as a problem for European nation-states in creating national cohesion and homogeneity, and warns that the strength of such anti-minority feeling in Europe should not be underestimated (see also Section 1).

At the end of this section we should refer to a recent United Nations initiative. The *United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights* has prepared an international convention on the protection of the rights of all migrant workers and members of their families (http://www.unhchr.ch/html/menu3/b/m_mwctoc.htm). Although the concept of ‘migrant workers’ sounds rather outdated, given the fact that many of them and their children have become citizens of their countries of immigration, the right to freedom of thought, conscience, and religion are recognised. However, very little mention of language rights is made. Article 16, paragraph 5 of the convention states that ‘migrant workers and members of their families who are arrested shall be informed at the time of arrest as far as possible in a language they understand of the reasons for their arrest and they shall be promptly informed in a language they understand of any charges against them.’ In the same vein, Article 18 presents the rights of migrant workers and their families in case of a criminal charge against them. The right to understand and to be understood is bestowed upon migrants mainly in court cases against them. No specific language rights are further mentioned except in Article 45, paragraph 3, which says that ‘States of employment shall endeavour to facilitate for the children of migrant workers the teaching of their

mother tongue and culture and, in this regard, States of origin shall collaborate whenever appropriate.’ This article clearly shows the ambiguous position taken up by the States of employment. On the basis of this article, no group can claim any rights or privileges. Governments are free to offer or not to offer; facilitate or not to facilitate mother tongue education. Paragraph 4 of Article 45 suggests that ‘States of employment may provide special schemes of education in the mother tongue of children of migrant workers, if necessary in collaboration with the States of origin.’ On the one hand, immigrant-receiving countries complain that IM groups do not integrate into the mainstream societies, but on the other hand, they take measures to share the responsibility of mother tongue education with the countries of origin.

Most legislations and charters concerning IM languages are exclusion-oriented. European countries are calling out for unification and pluralism through EU policies but their discourse concerning IM groups is discriminatory in nature. The Council of Europe’s *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages* guarantees only the rights of RM groups. Allocating special rights to one group of minorities and denying the same rights to other groups is hard to explain with the principle of equal human rights for everyone. Besides, most of the so-called ‘migrants’ in EU countries have taken up the citizenship of the countries where they live, and in many cases they belong to second or third generation groups. German-Russian immigrants, most of whom cannot even speak German, immigrating from Russia to Germany, easily take up German citizenship on the basis of their blood-bond, but second or third generation Turkish immigrants, who are fluent in German, are denied such rights in Germany. Such exclusion-oriented policies are compatible with neither language rights nor human rights. The demographic development in the EU, as shown in Section 2, compels policy makers to reconsider their position concerning language rights. IM groups belong increasingly to a third or later generation of descendants, most of whom possess the citizenship of the countries where they live. Against this background, there is a growing need of overarching human rights for every individual, irrespective of his/her ethnic, cultural, religious, or linguistic background.

5 – Educational perspectives

In this section we will offer comparative perspectives on educational policies and practices in Europe and abroad in the domain of IM languages. The cross-national terminology for referring to this type of instruction is not consistent, as has been discussed in Section 1 (see Table 1). First of all, we will present case studies on the status quo of *Muttersprachlicher Unterricht* or Mother Tongue Education (henceforward MTE) in North Rhine-Westphalia (Germany) and on teaching *Languages Other Than English* (LOTE) in Victoria State (Australia). Our rationale for focussing on these two widely different contexts is that in each of these federal states interesting positive action programs have been set up in this domain. Next, we will present the major outcomes of a comparative study on the status quo of education in this domain in six EU countries.

Mother Tongue Education in North Rhine-Westphalia

There are large differences between different states in the Federal Republic of Germany concerning the educational policy and practice of teaching different IM languages (see Gogolin & Reich 2001, and Hunger 2001). As part of good practice, in this section, the situation in North Rhine-Westphalia will be examined. It should be stressed that language policy in this domain is vulnerable for political changes in government. This holds as much for North Rhine-Westphalia as for other states, both in Germany and in Europe at large. Although we present the status quo of North Rhine-Westphalia in present tense, the ministry is about to reduce facilities and teacher positions for MTE.

For a description and analysis of the demographic development concerning migration and minorization of IM groups in North Rhine-Westphalia, the report of the *Interministerielle Arbeitsgruppe Zuwanderung* (2000) is highly relevant. This publication contains detailed information on the intake figures of IM children in education. Against the background of internationalisation and globalisation of the society, the development and promotion of multilingualism are taken as a point of departure in the state policy of North Rhine-Westphalia (see Illner & Pfaff 2001 for a comprehensive overview of the educational policies on this matter). More and more IM children grow up with two or more languages. They speak the language of their parents in varying degrees and these languages are used in various media, such as newspapers, TV, radio and so on. German acts as the mainstream language used with German speaking people and in most of the media. The linguistic competence of IM children varies but the early experience with multilingual communication is a basic experience for most of them. Against this background, as of 1 August 2000, a MTE policy and curriculum for all the state schools of North Rhine-Westphalia have been decreed. According to this new policy, in order to meet the needs of bilingual or trilingual children, schools have to offer MTE as elective courses for grades 1 to 10. The new curriculum was developed by the *Landesinstitut für Schule und Weiterbildung* (LSW, Soest) in North Rhine-Westphalia. This educational policy, which aims at promoting multilingualism (*Förderung der Mehrsprachigkeit*) in North Rhine-Westphalia, has the following motivations (Ministerium für Schule und Weiterbildung, 2000):

- MTE contributes to the maintenance and development of contacts and bonds with the country of origin;
- MTE is an expression of the public value attached to the linguistic and cultural heritage of the children and their parents;
- children who have spoken and written competence in their mother tongue will be ready and capable of learning better German;
- promotion of multilingualism is important both from a cultural and economic perspective.

On the basis of the above arguments, at the end of grade 6, children are expected to achieve the following educational objectives: a spoken and written language proficiency that is adequate for various language use contexts, and a sensitivity for multilingualism and knowledge of other languages with an ambition to learn German and other languages that are important in the future of multilingual and multicultural Europe. From a cultural perspective, multilingual children grow up and live in a rather complex environment which is why MTE should aim at multicultural education. Children must learn to:

- value cultural diversity;
- look at their cultural background from their own and from other people's perspectives;
- understand the behaviour of others to solve problems arising from cultural misunderstandings;
- develop strategies and techniques to handle concrete conflicts arising from expectations, interests, and values;
- act on the basis of human rights against discrimination directed at minorities;
- in the case of Muslim children, to learn about Islamic tradition and history and to be able to function effectively in a dominantly Christian society, and to acquire knowledge about secular society and freedom of faith.

This ambitious curriculum is set for grades 1-6 and it is also valid for MTE in grades 7-10 of secondary schooling. In this context, MTE is placed in the rising perspective of multicultural Germany in a multicultural Europe.

The target groups for MTE are pupils who have learned IM languages as first, second or foreign language: as first language before German, as second language next to or after German, or as a foreign language learned abroad. The languages to be offered are identified by the Ministry of Education and valid for the whole state of North Rhine-Westphalia. In the year 2000, the following 18 languages were offered: Albanian, Arabic, Bosnian, Farsi, Greek, Italian, Korean, Croatian, Kurmanci (Kurdish), Macedonian, Polish, Portuguese, Russian, Serbian, Slovenian, Spanish, Tamil and Turkish. Schools can offer a maximum of 5 hours of MTE per week provided that there are at least 10 children for a certain language group from one or more schools, that parents demand instruction for their children, and that there is a qualified teacher available. Admission to such classes is independent of the pupils' or parents' nationality. On a yearly basis, the Ministry of Education publishes statistics on IM pupils and MTE teachers on the basis of nationality criteria. In the 1998/1999 school year, around 366,000 IM pupils and 161,000 pupils from *Aussiedlerfamilien* received MTE in North Rhine-Westphalia (see www.schullinke.de). This is 13.0% and 5.7% of all pupils, respectively. Table 15 presents an overview of relevant figures for the 1999/2000 school year. It clearly shows the leading position of Turkish compared to all the other languages. For this reason, Turkish acts as a role model for other languages.

Table 15 MTE figures in North Rhine-Westphalia in the 1999/2000 school year (source: Ministerium für Schule und Weiterbildung, Amtliche Schuldaten 1999/2000, Statistische Übersicht nr. 312, Düsseldorf 18-2-2000)

Language	Total number of classes	Total number of pupils	Total number of class hours	Total number of teachers
Albanian	134	2,038	452	21
Arabic	409	5,526	1,326	63
Bosnian	70	845	273	13
Greek	404	5,324	1,716	86
Italian	654	7,965	2,263	111
Croatian	159	1,929	650	36
Macedonian	14	198	55	5
Polish	40	591	154	9
Portuguese	221	3,026	832	43
Russian	131	1,630	412	35
Serbian	94	1,035	363	21
Slovenian	32	480	87	16
Spanish	218	3,136	870	53
Turkish	6,615	86,841	16,995	839
Other languages	88	1,227	272	43
Total	9,283	121,791	26,720	1,394

MTE in North Rhine-Westphalia is offered on a statewide basis and these classes are part of the school inspection system. Irrespective of their nationality, the teachers are in the service of North Rhine-Westphalia state and they receive a salary that is earmarked statewide for MTE. Most of the teachers serve at more than one school, and one school mostly acts as a base school for the teachers. In-service training of teachers and the development of learning materials are also covered by the state. These responsibilities are commissioned to the *Landesinstitut für Schule und Weiterbildung* (LSW) in Soest. The quality control of the learning materials and the approval for their use in schools are done by LSW. Turkish teachers are trained and qualified by the Turkish Department at Essen University. The organisation of MTE in primary schools is the responsibility of *Schulämter*. In practice, in terms of their cultural background, language proficiency, age, and year grade, very heterogeneous groups make use of these mother tongue classes. These circumstances put high demands on the teachers, by which didactic principles of first, second and foreign language education should be reconciled with each other. Intercultural experiences and management skills are used as common basis for didactic principles. Mother tongue teachers must be well informed of the characteristics of their pupils and, in cooperation with the class teachers, they should shape the curriculum of the whole school. MTE is offered as an optional and additional subject for five hours per week. Even though participation in mother tongue classes is on a voluntary basis, participation is obligatory after approved parental application.

Educational attainments obtained in mother tongue classes are periodically and systematically evaluated. Given the heterogeneous nature of the classes in the early years of primary schools, pupils' achievements are not reported in the form of subject grades but verbalized in the form of expected future achievement. The following are the concrete guidelines for such reports:

- at the end of the first and second grade, the attainments are described in the form of a short text;
- in the third grade, pupils are given subject grades for each semester, provided that pupils receive grades for other subjects as well;
- in grades four to six, pupils receive subject grades for each semester.

At the end of the sixth grade, the level of achievement attained in MTE is taken into consideration for the final level assessment of primary school pupils at large.

In secondary schools, MTE is offered as an elective course, possibly in place of a second or third foreign language. Pupils who attend mother tongue classes on a regular basis can complete a language test. The results obtained from such tests are reported in school reports and in some cases these grades are taken as substitutes for traditional foreign language results. For Turkish and Greek, the Ministry of Education organises end of school exams. In the 1998/1999 school year, more than 9,000 pupils attended mother tongue classes instead of foreign language classes. Around 7,000 pupils completed a final school examination in 33 different languages. More than two thirds of the exams were done in Russian. For a discussion of spoken and written language proficiency requirements for end of school exams in secondary schools we refer to Bebermeier et al. (1997).

In a meeting organised for Turkish teachers and community organisations in Düsseldorf on June 7, 2000, the Minister of Education Gabriele Behler called upon Turkish parents to speak with their children in the language they speak best and also emphasized that speaking Turkish as home language would not harm the development of their children. According to the Minister, parents at the same time must:

- send their children to interculturally oriented kindergartens where children can interact with their peers and also learn German;
- support the schools in their efforts to teach German as a second language;
- enroll their children at mother tongue classes;
- keep an eye on what their children learn at school;
- give equal chances for education to girls as boys;
- entrust with public schools for religious education.

Furthermore, the Minister emphasized that a good command of German and Turkish would be a permanent gain, both for the children and for the society at large. For these reasons, the curriculum for MTE is shaped in the manner described above. Finally, Minister Behler insistently appealed for a permanent dialogue between the schools and the parents so that children can be adequately prepared for a multicultural society.

The example of North Rhine-Westphalia as presented here is remarkable in many respects. First of all, no differentiation is made between languages as of the EU, regional or immigrant languages. On the basis of a sufficient demand for any language, the state schools offer classes. Secondly, children from any background can enrol in any of the classes opened. Thirdly, teacher training is taken rather seriously and mother tongue teachers must fulfil the same requirements as of any other schoolteacher. Moreover, teachers are supported by in-service training. In the same vein, MTE is not left to teachers sent by the country of origin. Fourthly, professional institutions develop learning materials for mother tongue classes. Fifthly, these classes are part of the regular curriculum and pupils are awarded grades, which has an effect on their school achievement and future schooling prospects. In this way, both the pupils and the teachers take these subjects rather seriously. And finally, these classes are part of the regular school inspection system. All of these measures are meant to encourage a positive atmosphere both in schools and in the society. Involvement of parents in the schooling of their children is encouraged. Also knowing that their language and culture is respected by the school system and by mainstream society, pupils would develop a higher self-esteem and respect for the self and the other. In this way, intercultural communication and tolerance would be promoted as well. Finally, the North Rhine-Westphalia example shows that instead of taking a 'deficit' perspective, policy makers opted for multicultural and multilingual education.

Languages Other Than English (LOTE) in Victoria State, Australia

North Rhine-Westphalia is an example of positive action programming in the EU. In order to present another example a more distant context is chosen. Before presenting information on Victorian State, it is essential to present some background information on the development of multiculturalism and multilingual policies in the Australian context so that readers would gain a deeper insight into the arguments of social cohesion versus cultural and linguistic pluralism. For an overview of Australia's policy on languages from the end of World War II until recent times we refer to Ozolins (1993). Acceptance of the idea and practice of multiculturalism and multilingualism is rather recent in Australian history. Especially the 1950s and 1960s were the years of fierce assimilationist policies. Australian governments of that time wanted to create a country that would be culturally and linguistically homogenous, based on British heritage and traditions, and with English as the *only* language. The education sector played a very important role in promoting the values and customs of the mainstream Anglo-Australian culture.

In the early 70s, there were many inquiries and reports into assimilationist policies. Of these, the Karmel Report on Schooling in Australia (1973) indicated that assimilationist policies did not only disadvantage IM groups from different language backgrounds but such policies were basically wasteful of the potential, talents and resources IM groups could contribute to the society. As a result of these reports, the policy of assimilation was gradually replaced by a policy of integration. The latter intended to enable people of all cultural backgrounds to participate equally in mainstream social, political and economic institutions. *English as a second language* (ESL) programs and special teacher training programs were set up to reach that goal.

It was only after the influential Galbally Report (1978) that Australian government opted for full-fledged multicultural policies in all walks of life. The Galbally Report saw schools as critical in the creation of a climate in which the concepts of multiculturalism and multilingualism could be understood and promoted. As a result, special programs in *languages other than English* (henceforward LOTE) for mother-tongue maintenance and development, for second language development and for bilingual education were developed. Also special plans for the delivery of multicultural perspectives across the school curriculum and projects to encourage the participation of parents from non-English speaking backgrounds in school life were developed. There were also special programs to fight against prejudice, stereotyping, and racism.

These programs had differing results in different states in Australia but in general policy makers realised that as long as there were no serious programs and legislation multiculturalism would be hard to achieve. Especially the multicultural State of Victoria implemented such programs. In the outlook of the State of Victoria, an effective multicultural policy is a policy that promotes respect by all cultures for all cultures, one that allows Australians the freedom to maintain and celebrate their languages and cultures within a socially cohesive framework of shared values, including respect for democratic processes and institutions, the rule of law and acknowledgment that English is the nation's common language.

In multicultural Victoria, schools play a very important role in the development of attitudes, values and critical thinking. The role of education in the implementation of a multicultural policy is to ensure that racism and prejudice do not develop to hinder individuals' participation, and that all students are assisted to develop the understandings and skills that will enable them to achieve their full potential, and to participate effectively and successfully in a multicultural society. These understandings and skills derive from education programs and processes that accurately and positively reflect cultural pluralism, promote cultural inclusiveness and help all students to develop:

- proficiency in English;
- competency in a language other than English;
- in-depth knowledge of and awareness of their own and other cultures;
- an understanding of the multicultural nature of Australia's past and present history, and of the interdependence of cultures in the development of the nation;
- an awareness of the reality of the global village and national interdependence in areas of trade, finance, labour, politics and communications, and an awareness that the development of international understanding and cooperation is essential.

With this radical change of ideology and policy, educational institutions in Victoria State created a totally different system. Previously, only French, German, Italian, and sometimes Latin were offered as modern foreign languages in secondary schools. In primary schools, English was the only language as subject and medium of instruction. Facilities for LOTE were considered to be superfluous and threatening for social cohesion. However, in line with the developments described above, special programs for LOTE and ESL were developed. In 1993, the Department of Education in Victoria established a Ministerial Advisory Council on LOTE (MACLOTE) and in the same year a LOTE Strategy Plan was published (MACLOTE, 1993). According to this long term plan, in the year 2000, all the primary school pupils and at least 25% of all secondary school students should take part in LOTE classes. In the meanwhile, in 1994, the School Council made a number of suggestions concerning the implementation and organisation of LOTE (MACLOTE, 1994). These suggestions resulted in the development of a *Curriculum and Standard Framework* (CSF). The CSF acted as the basis document for the development of attainment targets for spoken and written language proficiency for a number of languages and made a considerable contribution to curriculum development and the placement of students in LOTE programs. The multicultural education policy of Victoria does not only target IM students, but strives to reach out to all students with the following objectives:

- knowledge and consciousness of the multicultural character of the society, and knowledge and competence in intercultural communication;
- proficiency in English as a first or second language;
- proficiency in one or more languages other than English.

A more detailed description of the objectives for intercultural education, ESL, and LOTE according to the Department of Education (1997:12-14) is given in an Appendix to this report. Concerning LOTE no differentiation is made any longer between the status of languages as home language, heritage language or foreign language. Moreover, *priority languages* are specified that can be chosen as LOTE for which statewide budgets are earmarked in order to develop curricula, learning materials, and teacher training programs. In LOTE programs, schools need to ensure that multicultural perspectives are included in the content of the provision, and the culture of the target language should be explored in depth both in the LOTE class and across other curriculum areas. LOTE programs should deal with other cultures – as well as that of the LOTE being studied – in a culturally sensitive, non-stereotypical way. This is particularly important in bilingual programs where other curriculum areas are taught in and through LOTE.

The ultimate goal of achieving multiculturalism is mostly realised in Victoria because learning more than one language is not only a task for IM children but for all students in the State. Apart from English as a first or second language, all children learn a language other than English at school. Depending on demand, LOTE programs are offered at government mainstream schools, at the *Victorian School of Languages* (VSL) or at after-hours ethnic schools. The VSL is a central government school in Melbourne with a record in LOTE teaching for over sixty years. The school is committed to the provision of language programs for students in grades 1-12 who do not have access to the study of those languages in their mainstream schools in all sectors. The school also caters for international students. Language programs are delivered through face to face classes (in 24 metropolitan and 7 regional centres across the state) and through distance education.

Table 16 Students attending a LOTE course in the year 2000 (source: Department of Education 2001:77)

Languages	Primary education			Secondary education			Total
	Mainstream schools	VSL	Subtotal	Mainstream schools	VSL	Subtotal	
Indonesian	85,394	4	85,398	27,959	287	28,246	113,644
Italian	77,914	22	77,936	22,223	257	22,480	100,416
Japanese	56,732	36	56,768	21,824	420	22,244	79,012
German	24,230	28	24,258	17,182	312	17,494	41,752
French	15,761	29	15,790	23,584	339	23,923	39,713
Chinese	7,669	836	8,505	3,615	1,072	4,687	13,192
Greek	2,696	422	3,118	1,042	272	1,314	4,432
Vietnamese	1,745	367	2,112	1,137	645	1,782	3,894
Spanish	1,779	100	1,879	800	333	1,133	3,012
Sign language	2,444	–	2,444	192	–	192	2,636
Turkish	442	682	1,124	357	790	1,147	2,271
Arabic	397	141	538	698	220	918	1,456
Macedonian	209	170	379	541	265	806	1,185
Korean	298	23	321	421	19	440	761
Koorie languages	447	–	447	9	–	9	456
Croatian	95	15	110	–	289	289	399
Serbian	–	75	75	–	283	283	358
Polish	–	126	126	–	192	192	318
Latin	–	–	–	222	37	259	259
Khmer	17	23	40	92	115	207	247
Singalese	–	99	99	–	17	17	116
Farsi	–	39	39	–	76	76	115
Portuguese	–	31	31	–	61	61	92
Russian	–	3	3	–	88	88	91
Hindi	–	33	33	–	56	56	89
Norwegian	75	–	75	–	–	–	75
Albanian	–	21	21	–	11	11	32
Hungarian	–	14	14	–	6	6	20
Bengali	–	6	6	–	13	13	19
Bosnian	–	7	7	–	9	9	16
Dari	–	8	8	–	8	8	16
Hebrew	–	–	–	–	16	16	16
Slovenian	–	1	1	–	10	10	11
Dutch	–	–	–	–	10	10	10
Czech	–	–	–	–	7	7	7
Tagalog	–	6	6	–	1	1	7
Tamil	–	–	–	–	7	7	7
Latvian	–	–	–	–	6	6	6
Lithuanian	–	–	–	–	6	6	6
Ukrainian	–	–	–	–	6	6	6
Amharic	–	3	3	–	–	–	3
Total	278,344	3,370	281,714	121,898	6,561	128,459	410,173

In order to achieve the above objectives, the state does not limit multicultural school policy only to language education. The understanding and promotion of multiculturalism is done in all subjects across the curriculum. In the near future these objectives will be implemented across all domains of primary education. Accordingly, teacher-training institutions will be restructured along the given principles. The Victorian School of Languages offers high quality in-service training for its teachers and publishes series of training documents, some of which are available on the Internet. The Department of Education provides regularly detailed information on the number of students attending language classes both in state schools and in the Victorian School of Languages. Table 16 presents figures on students attending a LOTE course in the school year of 2000.

In the year 2000, classes were offered in 41 languages in primary and/or secondary schools. The six most chosen languages were Indonesian, Italian, Japanese, German, French, and Chinese, respectively. At 96% of all primary schools LOTE facilities were offered (68% in 1994) and 87% of all primary school pupils took part in LOTE classes. All secondary schools (apart from 6) offered LOTE facilities in 2000. Table 17 presents the figures on supply of language classes in various types of schools in the year 2000.

Table 17 Language programs in various educational institutions in 2000 (* not included in Table 16)

Educational institutions		N languages
Government primary schools	Mainstream schools	18
	Victorian School of Languages	30
	Distance education only	6
Government secondary schools	Mainstream schools	17
	Victorian School of Languages	37
	Distance education only	1
After-hours ethnic schools *		52

Each year such information is updated by the *Victorian Department of Education* and by the *Victorian School of Languages*. The overall conclusion that can be drawn from this section compared to the former is the following. North Rhine-Westphalia has good practice for mother tongue teaching in the EU but compared to Victorian State in Australia, there is still some distance to cover. In North Rhine-Westphalia enrolment in classes is on a voluntary basis but in Victoria learning a LOTE is compulsory for all children. Victoria State in Australia has taken firm steps towards achieving a multilingual society where not only IM children but also Anglo-Australian children learn another language. In doing so, learning more than one language has become an objective for all children.

Cross-national perspectives on community language teaching in Europe

In this final section, we present the major outcomes of a comparative study on the *status quo* of teaching IM languages in six EU countries, based on document analysis and on oral or written information supplied by key informants, as carried out by Broeder & Extra (1998). Being aware of cross-national differences in denotation (see Section 1, Table 1), we will use the notion *community language teaching* (henceforward CLT) when referring to this type of education in the countries under discussion. Our rationale for the CLT concept rather than the concepts *mother tongue teaching* or *home language instruction* is motivated by the inclusion of a broad spectrum of potential target groups. First of all, the status of an IM language as ‘native’ or home language can change through intergenerational processes of language shift. Moreover, in secondary

education, both minority and majority pupils are often *de jure* (although seldom *de facto*) admitted to CLT (in the Netherlands, e.g. Turkish is a secondary school subject referred to as 'Turkish' rather than 'home language instruction'; see also the concept of *Enseignement des Langues et Cultures d'Origine versus Enseignement des Langues Vivantes* in French primary versus secondary schools).

The focus of Broeder & Extra (1998) is on three countries with relatively large numbers of IM groups (Germany, France, Great Britain), on two countries which partially share their language of public use (The Netherlands and Flanders/Belgium) and on one of the Scandinavian countries (Sweden). In all the countries involved in this study, there has been an increase in the number of IM pupils who speak a language at home other than or in addition to the dominant school language in primary and secondary education. The schools have responded to this home-school language mismatch by paying more attention to the learning and teaching of the national standard language as a second language. A great deal of energy and money is being spent on developing curricula, teaching materials, and teacher training for second-language education. CLT stands out in stark contrast to this, as it is much more susceptible to an ideological debate about its legitimacy. While there is consensus about the necessity of investing in second-language education for IM pupils, there is a lack of such support for CLT. IM languages are commonly considered sources of problems and deficiencies, and they are rarely seen as sources of knowledge and enrichment. Policy makers, headmasters, and teachers of 'regular' subjects often have reservations or negative attitudes towards CLT. On the other hand, parents of IM pupils, CLT teachers, and IM organizations often make a case for having IM languages in the school curriculum. These differences in top-down and bottom-up attitudes emerge in all the countries under consideration.

From a historical point of view, most of the countries in the study of Broeder & Extra (1998) show a similar chronological development in their argumentation for CLT. CLT was generally introduced into primary education with a view to family remigration. In the seventies, this argumentation was virtually abandoned. Demographic developments showed no substantial sign of families remigrating to their source countries; instead, a process of generation building and minorization came about in the target countries. This development resulted in a conceptual shift, and CLT became aimed at combating disadvantages. CLT had to bridge the gap between the home and school environment and to encourage school achievement in 'regular' subjects. Because such an approach tended to under appreciate ethnocultural dimensions, a number of countries began to emphasize the intrinsic importance of CLT from a cultural, legal, and economic perspective:

- in cultural respects, CLT can contribute to maintaining and advancing a pluralist society;
- in legal respects, CLT can meet the internationally recognized right to language development and language maintenance, in correspondence with the fact that many IM groups consider their own language of key value to their cultural identity;
- in economic respects, CLT can lead to an important pool of profitable knowledge in societies which are increasingly internationally oriented.

The historical development of arguments for CLT in terms of remigration, combating deficiencies, and multicultural policy is particularly evident in the Netherlands, Germany and Belgium. In France and Great Britain, cultural policy is tied in with the respective national languages French and English to such an extent that CLT is only tolerated in its margins. In contrast to each of these five countries, cultural motives have played a more important role in Sweden. It should, however, be noted that multicultural arguments for CLT have not led to an educational policy in which the status of IM languages has been substantially advanced in any of the countries involved in this study.

The target groups of CLT are considered disadvantaged groups in virtually all countries focused upon in Broeder & Extra (1998); only Sweden has an explicit home language criterion rather than a socio-economic status or generation criterion for admission to CLT. Actual enrolment in CLT varies widely not only between countries (cf. enrolment figures in the Netherlands *versus* Flanders), but also between groups (cf. the enrolment percentages of Moroccan and Turkish pupils *versus* those of Southern European pupils). Variation in enrolment is determined by a combination of factors, such as the attitudes of IM parents and pupils, and majority headmasters and teachers, and the geographical distribution of IM groups (which will decide whether or not numerical criteria can be met). As yet, comparative cross-national studies on the actual causes of this differentiated picture are not available.

There are remarkable differences in status between CLT in primary and secondary education in EU countries. A comparison of target groups, arguments, objectives, evaluation, enrolment restrictions, curricular status, funding, and teaching materials shows that CLT in secondary education has gained a higher status than CLT in primary education. In primary education, CLT is generally not part of the ‘regular’ or ‘national’ curriculum, and, consequently, it tends to become a negotiable entity in a complex and often opaque interplay of forces by a variety of actors, in contrast with other curricular subjects. These differences are summarized in Table 18.

Table 18 Status of CLT in European primary and secondary education (Broeder & Extra 1998:107)

CLT parameters	Primary education	Secondary education
Target groups	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>de iure</i>: mostly IM pupils from specified source countries • <i>de facto</i>: mostly subset of IM pupils 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>de iure</i>: mostly all pupils • <i>de facto</i>: mostly subset of IM pupils
Arguments	mostly in terms of a struggle against deficits: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • bridging the home/school gap • promoting school success in other (‘regular’) subjects rarely multicultural policy: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • promoting cultural pluralism • promoting knowledge of languages in a multicultural and globalizing society 	mostly multicultural policy: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • promoting cultural pluralism • promoting knowledge of languages
Objectives	rarely specified skills to be reached with CLT	commonly specification of oral and written skills to be reached with CLT
Evaluation	rarely judgement/report figure for CLT: ‘language’ in school report = national standard language	examination and report figure for CLT: national standard language is explicitly referred to and separately evaluated in school report
Minimal enrolment	relatively high number of pupils: specified per class, school or municipality	relatively low number of pupils: specified per class, school or municipality
Curricular status	not perceived as ‘regular’ education: instead of other subjects or at extra-curricular hours	regular optional subject in regular free time-table space
Funding	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • by national, regional or local authorities • by consulates/embassies of source countries 	by national, regional or local authorities

CLT parameters	Primary education	Secondary education
Teaching materials	rarely originating from country of settlement, often from abroad/source country	commonly originating from country of settlement

The higher status of CLT in secondary education is largely due to the fact that instruction in one or more languages other than the national standard language is a traditional and regular component of the (optional) school curriculum, whereas primary education is highly determined by a monolingual habitus (see Gogolin 1994). *Within* secondary education, however, CLT must compete with languages that, in their turn, have a higher status or a longer tradition. The hierarchy of languages in secondary education is schematically represented in Table 19 in six categories with descending order of status. The overlap between the categories 3 and 5 has remarkable consequences for the upgraded status of Southern European languages as IM languages in North-Western Europe. With regard to category 6, it should be noted that some countries provide instruction and/or exams in non-standard language varieties. In France, for instance, pupils can take part in examinations for several varieties of Arabic and Berber (see Tilmatine 1997); Dutch schools provide instruction in Moluccan Malay (as an alternative to Bahasa/Indonesian), and Sweden offers Kurdish (as an alternative to Turkish).

Table 19 Hierarchy of languages in secondary education, in descending order of status (categories 1-6)

	1	2	3	4	5	6
English	+		+			
French		+	+			
German		+	+			
Danish			+			
Dutch			+			
Swedish			+			
Finnish			+		+	
Portuguese			+		+	
Spanish			+		+	
Italian			+		+	
Greek			+		+	
Basque				+		
Frisian				+		
Gaelic				+		
...						
Arabic					+	
Turkish					+	
...						
Berber						+
Kurdish						+
...						
1: Often compulsory subject 2: Often optional subject as ‘second foreign language’ 3: National languages of EU countries, often supported by positive action programs at the EU level 4: Regional minority languages, often supported by positive action programs in the region and/or at the EU level 5: Immigrant minority languages, often offered to immigrant minority pupils only 6: Rarely offered non-standardized immigrant minority languages						

Another remarkable fact is that in some countries (particularly France, Belgium, and some German federal states), CLT in primary education is funded by the consulates or embassies of the countries of origin concerned. In these cases, the national government does not interfere in the organization of CLT, or in the requirements for, and the selection and employment of teachers. A paradoxical consequence of this phenomenon is that the earmarking of CLT budgets is often safeguarded by the above-mentioned consulates or embassies. National, regional, or local governments often fail to earmark budgets, so that funds meant for CLT may be appropriated for other educational purposes.

CLT may be part of a largely centralized or decentralized educational policy. In the Netherlands, national responsibilities and educational funds are gradually being transferred to the municipal level. In France, government policy is strongly centrally controlled. Germany has devolved governmental responsibilities chiefly to the federal states with all their mutual differences. Sweden grants far-reaching autonomy to municipal councils in dealing with educational tasks and funding. In Great Britain, there is a mixed system of shared national and local responsibilities (cf. the ministerial guidelines for special target groups *versus* the guidelines of the local educational authorities).

In general, comparative cross-national references to experiences with CLT in the various EU member states are rare (e.g. Reich 1991, 1994, Reid & Reich 1992, Fase 1994, Tilmantine 1997, Broeder & Extra 1998), or they focus on particular language groups (e.g. Tilmantine 1997, Obdeijn & De Ruiter 1998). With a view to the demographic development of European nation-states into multicultural societies and the similarities in CLT issues, more comparative research would be desirable.

6 – Outlook

As yet, language policy in Europe has largely been considered as a domain which should be developed within the national boundaries of the different EU member states. Proposals for an overarching EU language policy are laboriously achieved and non-committal in character (see Coulmas 1991). The most important declarations, recommendations, or directives on language policy, each of which concepts carry a different charge in the EU jargon, concern the recognition of the status of (in the order mentioned):

- national EU languages;
- ‘indigenous’ or RM languages;
- ‘non-territorial’ or IM languages.

On numerous occasions, the EU ministers of education have declared that the EU citizens’ knowledge of languages should be promoted (see Baetens Beardsmore 1993). Each EU member state should promote pupils’ proficiency in at least two ‘foreign’ languages, and at least one of these languages should be the official language of one of the EU states. Promoting knowledge of RM and/or IM languages has been left out of consideration in these ministerial statements. The European Parliament, however, accepted various resolutions which recommended the protection and promotion of RM languages and which led to the foundation of the *European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages* in 1982. Meanwhile, the Bureau has member state committees in almost all EU countries and it has recently acquired the status of *Non-Governmental Organization* (NGO) at the levels of the Council of Europe and the United Nations. Another result of the European Parliament resolutions is the foundation of the European MERCATOR Network, aimed at promoting research on the status and use of RM languages. In March 1998, the *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages* came into operation. This Charter was framed by the Council of Europe in 1992 and it has been ratified by an increasing number of member states. The Charter is aimed at the protection and promotion of RM languages, and it functions as an international instrument for the comparison of legal measures and other facilities of the EU member states in this policy domain.

As yet, no such initiatives have been taken in the policy domain of IM languages. It is a remarkable phenomenon that the teaching of RM languages is generally advocated for reasons of cultural diversity as a matter of course, whereas this is rarely a major argument in favour of teaching IM languages. In various EU countries, the 1977 guideline of the Council of European Communities on education for IM children (Directive 77/486, dated 25 July, 1977) has promoted the legitimisation of CLT and occasionally also its legislation (see Reid & Reich 1992, Fase 1987). Meanwhile, this guideline is totally outdated. It needs to be put in a new and increasingly multicultural context, it needs also to be extended to pupils originating from non-EU countries, and it needs to be given greater binding force in the EU member states. The increasing internationalisation of pupil populations in European schools, finally, requires a language policy for *all* school children in which the traditional dichotomy between foreign language instruction for indigenous majority pupils and home language instruction for IM pupils is put aside.

There is a great need for educational policies in Europe that take new realities about transnational multiple identities and multilingualism into account. Processes of both convergence and divergence should be dealt with. The former relate in particular to the increasing status of English as *lingua franca* for international communication, the latter to the emergence of ‘new’ minority languages next to ‘old’ and established ones across Europe. Derived from an overarching conceptual and longitudinal framework, *priority languages* could be specified in terms of both RM and IM languages for the development of curricula, teaching methods, and teaching training programs. Such activities should be part of a common referential framework. Both in Europe and abroad much experience has been gained in specifying language proficiency targets (cf. the

European Council *Framework of Reference* for determining different language proficiency levels and the *Curriculum and Standard Framework* for LOTE in Victoria/Australia, as discussed in Section 5). Underscoring the often-pronounced plea for the learning of three languages by all EU citizens, we suggest the following principles for the implementation of this plea at the primary school level:

- 1 In the primary school curriculum three languages are introduced for all children:
 - the standard language of the particular nation-state as a major school subject and language of communication across other school subjects;
 - English as lingua franca for international communication;
 - an additional third language opted from a variable and varied set of priority languages at the national, regional, and local level of the multicultural society.
- 2 The teaching of all these languages is part of the regular school curriculum and subject to educational inspection.
- 3 Regular primary school reports contain information on the children's proficiency in each of these languages.
- 4 National working programs are established for the priority languages referred to under (1) in order to develop curricula, teaching methods, and teacher training programs.
- 5 Part of these priority languages may be taught at specialized language schools.

Given the experiences abroad (e.g. the Victorian School of Languages in Melbourne/Australia), language schools can become expertise centres where a variety of languages are taught, if the children's demand is low and/or spread over many schools. In line with the proposed principles for primary schooling, similar ideas could be worked out for secondary schooling where learning more than one language is an established practice. The above-mentioned principles would recognize multilingualism in an increasingly multicultural environment as an asset for all children and for the society at large. For further inspiration on the concepts proposed we refer to *Multilingualism for All* (Skutnabb-Kangas 1995) and *The Other Languages of Europe* (Extra & Gorter 2001). The European Union, the Council of Europe, and the UNESCO could function as leading transnational agencies in promotion such concepts. The UNESCO *Universal Declaration of Cultural Diversity* referred to in Section 4 is highly in line with the views expressed here, in particular in its plea to encourage linguistic diversity, to respect the mother tongue at all levels of education, and to foster the learning of several languages from the youngest age.

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Appendix

Multicultural policy for Victorian schools

1. Intercultural education

Schools need to ensure that:

- all staff have the opportunity to attend professional development programs targeted at incorporating multicultural perspectives across the curriculum;
- intercultural studies take a whole-school approach, with all staff members being responsible and with regular reports on the area provided to school council;
- the studies include the cultures present in the school population and present a balance of Aboriginal, European ! including Anglo-Celtic ! Asian, Middle Eastern, African, South American and Pacific Islander cultures;
- the materials used are well-researched and academically interesting and challenging, and are flexible enough to potentially embrace all cultures;
- where units dealing with topics such as 'racism' or 'stereotyping' are used, they are discussed as part of a well-planned program incorporating other aspects of the curriculum and delivered, or at least acknowledged as significant, by all staff.

2. ESL-provision for students from language backgrounds other than English

Schools need to ensure that ESL provision:

- emphasises 'second language' rather than 'English', thereby removing the 'remedial' taint that can affect ESL programs and the deficit label sometimes applied to the students;
- acknowledges the first-language skills and cultural experiences of the students as assets, and values them as a sound basis for the teaching and learning of English;
- helps ESL learners access the mainstream curriculum and achieve the educational goals of all students;
- ensures that multicultural perspectives are included in the content;
- is combined wherever possible with continuing concept development in their first language for young students with little or no English, to enable them to develop conceptually with their peers;
- is designed to provide for the needs of all students from language backgrounds other than English - Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students, Auslan signers, recent arrivals, less recent arrivals and those students born in Australia to parents from language backgrounds other than English. The ESL needs of this latter group may in some instances overlap, but should not be confused with those of students requiring remedial assistance. The varying needs of groups of ESL learners may not be easily identified but strategies need to be put in place to ensure that they are.

3. LOTE-provision for all students

Schools need to ensure that:

- multicultural perspectives are included in the content of the provision;
- the culture of the target language is explored in depth - both in the LOTE classes and across other curriculum areas;
- all languages represented in the Victorian community are valued and that the perceived emphasis on so-called languages of economic importance is seen as part of Victoria's balanced policy on languages, and in the context of remedying a long-term under-provision of Asian languages in Victorian schools;
- LOTE programs deal with other cultures ! as well as that of the LOTE being studied ! accurately, analytically and in a culturally sensitive, non-stereotypical way. This is particularly important in bilingual programs where other curriculum areas are taught in and through the LOTE.

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